

With best wishes,

Susan Broadhead

May, 1992

AFRICAN HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES

Edited by Jon Woronoff

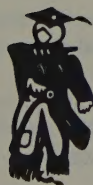
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Historical Dictionary of ANGOLA

second edition

by
SUSAN H. BROADHEAD

African Historical Dictionaries, No. 52



The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
Metuchen, N.J., & London
1992

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication data available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Broadhead, Susan H. (Susan Herlin), 1939-

Historical Dictionary of Angola / by Susan H. Broadhead. --
2nd ed.

p. cm. -- (African historical dictionaries ; no. 52)

Rev. ed. of: Historical dictionary of angola / Phyllis
Martin. 1980.

ISBN 0-8108-2532-5 (alk. paper)

1. Angola--History--Dictionaries. I. Martin, Phyllis.
Historical dictionary of Angola. II. Title. III. Series.

DT611.5.B76 1992

967.3'003--dc20

91-44889

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Printed on acid-free paper

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Angola is one of Africa's larger and more populous countries. It is well endowed with natural resources and could potentially be one of the richer countries as well. Unfortunately, unlike most others, independence was not achieved under a single leader and party but with the leadership in disarray and parties confronting one another as bitterly as they had faced the Portuguese before. This partly explains why such a promising country has often been overlooked or coverage restricted to the ramifications of the continuing conflict.

That is short-sighted, for there is much more to Angola than this rivalry, which now stands a better chance of resolution than ever. This is shown clearly by the new edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Angola*. It covers not only the post-independence period and the colonial era, but reaches much further back to explore what Angola was like before the Portuguese came. This long historical perspective is clarified by an extensive chronology. The book also considers economic, social and cultural aspects which are necessary to understand where the country may move in the future. For those who want further information, there is a comprehensive and well-structured bibliography.

Dr. Susan H. Broadhead, who wrote this second edition, is Associate Professor of History and Pan African Studies at the University of Louisville, Kentucky. She is specialized in Angolan history and has written widely on that subject. She is also familiar with the Portuguese-language literature, a crucial advantage. Her keen interest in Angola is reflected in this new dictionary which should appeal not only to scholars and students but a broader public.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As is always the case, no major research and writing enterprise can be successfully undertaken without team effort. I wish herewith to thank my team. First, I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to my three research assistants: Alan Mason, who did the preliminary work for the bibliography; Kurt Metzmeier, who kept me up to date on current affairs literally until the moment of printing the final manuscript; and Mark Thames, who researched religion and geography and served as an initial copyeditor. Second, I owe a large thank-you to many at the University of Louisville: to the Office of the President for awarding me a "Project Completion Grant" in May, 1990; to the Geography Department for cartographic help; to the History Department staff, especially "the two Rita's" (Hettinger and Jones), who patiently supported my sometimes frantic demands for clerical support and friendship; and to the History Department Chair, Justin McCarthy, who shared his expertise with computers and provided ongoing moral support as well.

I would also like to thank African bibliographers Professors Hans Panofsky of Northwestern University and Nancy Schmidt of Indiana University for useful discussions on the state of information about Angola for English-speaking North Americans. As well, I am indebted to my friend, Professor John Thornton of Millersville University, who read a version of the Introduction, and provided his usual trenchant and helpful commentary. To both him and his wife, Professor Linda Heywood of Howard University, I owe particular thanks

for putting me up, talking Angola with me, and allowing me the run of their excellent basement library on Angola.

Finally, I probably would have given up the project on several occasions without the ongoing support of my parents, Jean and Bob Herlin, and my friend, Joe Chalmers.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

When Jon Woronoff contacted me about doing a new edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Angola*, we initially agreed that I was to update the very useful first edition written by my friend, Professor Phyllis Martin of Indiana University. Although preliminary research revealed a magnitude of change both within Angola and in the scholarly world of Angolan historical studies which necessitated my undertaking a new edition, I remain indebted to Phyllis. Her work provided a solid foundation on which to build the new structure of this second edition.

A word about what this book is intended to do, and not do: It is intended to be an introduction to the history of The People's Republic of Angola for North American English-speaking students, beginning researchers, reference librarians, teachers, and others interested in this fascinating African country. It is **not** intended to be a detailed scholarly study in any given area, although an attempt has been made to reflect current scholarship as well as current events. Those wishing further study are advised that the bibliography is designed to point you in the right direction. I undertook this work to learn more about the whole of a country, part of which (Kongo) I had been studying for many years. I have accomplished my goal. I hope my study will facilitate yours.

Susan Herlin Broadhead
University of Louisville

ACRONYMS

ALIAZO	Alliance des Ressortissants do Zombo [Zombo Alliance]
AMANGOLA	Amigos de Manifesto Angolano [Friends of the Angolan Manifesto]
ANC	African National Congress [of South Africa]
ANGOL	Exploration subsidiary of PETRANGOL
CABGOC	Cabinda Gulf Oil Company
CAFANGOL	Empresa de Benefício e Exportação do Café de Angola [Angolan Coffee Production and Export Company]
CICIBA	Centre International des Civilisations Bantu [International Center for Bantu Civilizations]
COMIRA	Comité Militar de Resistência de Angola [Military Resistance Committee of Angola]

CONCP	Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colonias Portuguesas [Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies]
COTONANG	Companhia Geral dos Algodões de Angola [General Cotton Company of Angola]
DIAMANG	Companhia de Diamantes de Angola [Diamond Company of Angola]
ENDIAMA	Empresa Nacional de Diamantes de Angola [National Diamond Company of Angola]
EPLA	Exército Popular de Libertação Nacional de Angola [Popular Liberation Army of Angola]
FALA	Forças Armadas de Libertação de Angola [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola]
FAPLA	Forças Armadas Popular para Libertação de Angola [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola]
FERRANGOL	Empresa Nacional de Ferro de Angola [National Iron Company of Angola]
FLEC	Frente para a Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda [Front for the Liberation of Cabinda]

FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola [Front for the Liberation of Angola]
FNLC	Front Nationale de Liberation du Congo (Zaire) [National Front for the Liberation of Congo]
GRAE	Governo Revolucionário de Angola no Exílio [Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile]
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JMPLA	Juventude de Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [Youth of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]
MPLA-PT	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola--Partido do Trabalho [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola--Workers Party]
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODP	Organização de Defesa Popular [People's Defense Organization]
OMA	Organização das Mulheres de Angola [Women's Organization of Angola]

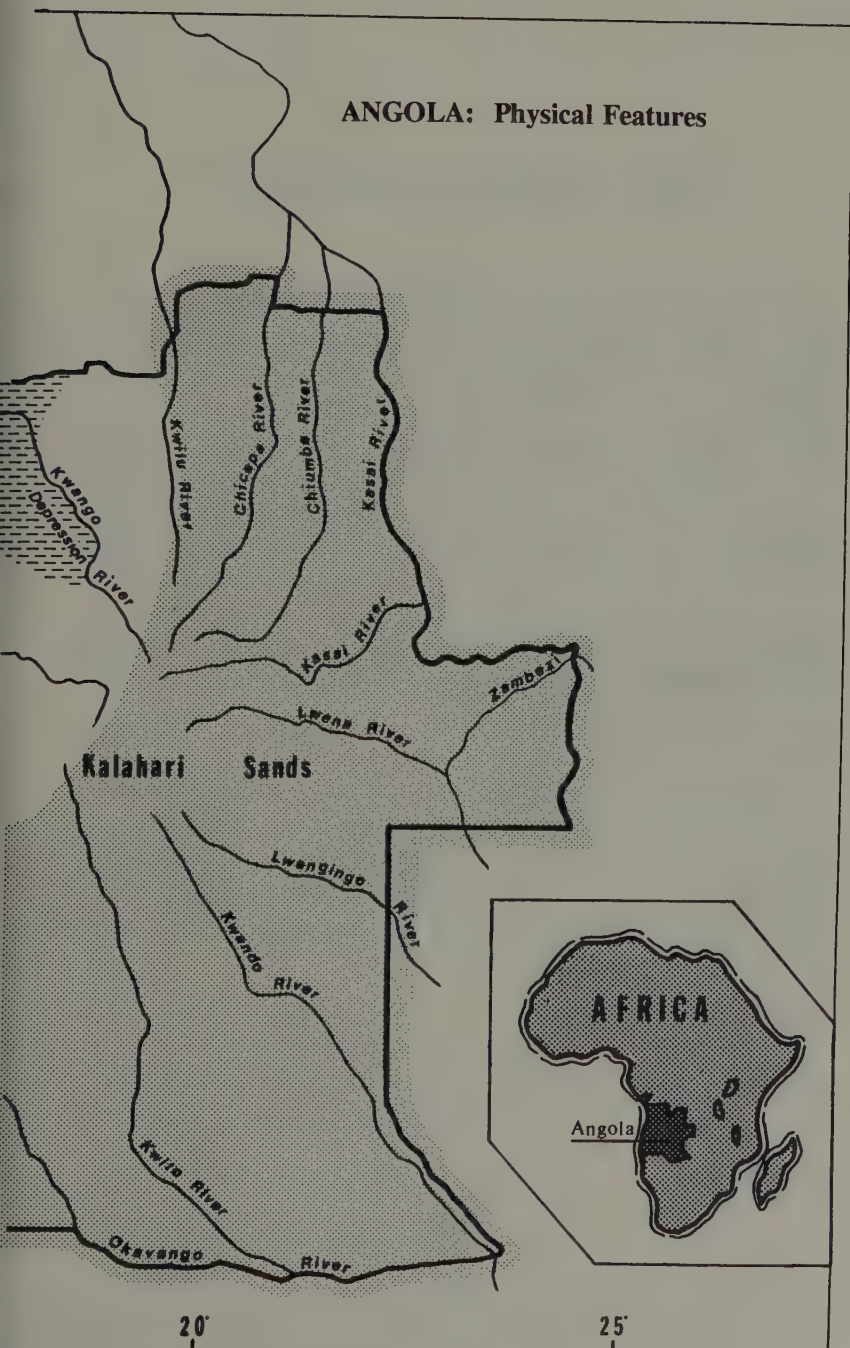
PDA	Partido Democrático Angolano [Democratic Party of Angola]
PETRANGOL	Companhia de Petróleos de Angola [Angolan Oil Company]
PLUA	Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos de Angola
PNA	Partido Nacional Africana [National Party of Angola]
RPA	República Popular de Angola [People's Republic of Angola]
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SADCC	Southern Africa Development Coordinating Council
SADF	South African Defense Forces
SEF	Saneamento Económico e Financeiro [Economic and Financial Reform]
SONANGOL	Sociedade Nacional de Combustíveis de Angola [National Society of Fuel of Angola]
SWAPO	South West African People's Organization
UEA	União dos Escritores de Angola [Angolan Writers Union]

UNEA	União Nacional des Estudantes Angolanos [National Angolan Students Union]
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]
UPA	União das Populações de Angola [Union of the Angolan People]
UPNA	União das Populações de Norte de Angola [Union of the People of Northern Angola]

Map 1



ANGOLA: Physical Features



NOTE ON SPELLING AND USAGE

There is no standard spelling policy for Angolan names, current or historical, and there are three separate streams of people working on standardization: 1) contemporary Angolan authorities, 2) writers in the broader Portuguese world and 3) English-language scholars. There is not complete agreement within any of the streams. Thus, any author must be to a certain degree arbitrary in choosing what to use. In this text I have followed modern English-language conventions in so far as they are clear. Of course, for the historical maps I have used spellings current in the era, and for the bibliographic entries I have used exact titles as printed. Where two spellings of a well-known term are both pretty current, I have given entries to both versions. I have tried to list all variants in the index, for easier reference.

In the case of changing place names I have used the modern one in the text and provided a chart for guidance to those who may only know the earlier version. In alphabetizing Portuguese names, I have followed the contemporary Portuguese practice and used the last of the surnames when, as is common, there is more than one.

CHRONOLOGY OF ANGOLAN HISTORY

Chronology involves precise measurement of time in a linear fashion taken for granted in modern Western industrial society. However, this temporal framework is alien to most of the agricultural societies of sub-Saharan Africa. Any chronology of early Angolan history must therefore be based on dates known through European-written documents, or artifacts studied and analyzed by those trained in basically Western technologies. Such a chronology must, therefore, overemphasize events noted by literate outsiders, which may or may not have been very important to the society itself at the time. Also, there is an imbalance of information in favor of those peoples, notably Kongo and Mbundu before 1750 and including Ovimbundu thereafter, who most interacted with the Portuguese over time. The more recent the period, the more precise is the dating.

Recent work by historians using oral sources, archaeology, linguistics, and other allied disciplines, is beginning to provide fuller accounts of general historical trends, often from less of an outsider viewpoint. However, precise chronological accounts of early Angolan communities are unlikely ever to emerge.

The list that follows is designed to allow the reader to follow the main historical trends and events affecting the area of modern Angola, whether or not its peoples were under Portuguese control at the time.

About 2,000,000 years ago	Olduwan cultural era. <i>Homo habilis</i> infiltrates the region.
Beginning 500,000 years ago	Acheulian cultural era associated with <i>homo erectus</i> .
About 100,000 years ago	Modern humans appear. Adapt to either forest or savannah living.
By 10,000 years ago	Late Stone Age. Specialized foraging communities.
After 1000 BCE	Yam-based farming, Bantu-type languages spread from the north.
300 BCE	Earliest Leopoldian Neolithic sites in the Lower Zaire valley.
100-300 CE	Early Iron Age begins.
Beginning about 800	Emergence of communities ancestral to historic nations.
By about 1000	Later Iron Age brings spread of trade; pastoralism.
Before 1400	Small states appear in populous western highland regions.
By 1400	Modern kingdom of Kongo founded: capital at Mbanza Kongo.
1483	Portuguese arrive in Kongo.
Early 16th century	<i>Ngola a Kiluanje</i> expanding; São Tomé settled.

1506-1543	<i>Mwene Kongo</i> Afonso I establishes Kongo as a Christian kingdom.
1518	Henrique of Kongo first sub-Saharan consecrated a Roman Catholic Bishop.
1520	<i>Ngola a Kiluanje</i> receives Portuguese.
Mid-16th century	São Tomé merchants open direct trade with Mbundu through Luanda.
1568	"Jaga" conflicts wrack Kongo.
1576	Dias de Novaes founds Portuguese colony at Luanda.
From 1570s	Brazilian sugar boom stimulates slave trade.
1579	Novaes attacks <i>Ngola a Kiluanje</i> .
1589	Novaes dies; colony reverts to the Crown.
By 1600	Spread of Imbangala groups to coast.
1604	Portuguese establish <i>prestidio</i> at Cambambe.
c.1612-1622	Portuguese ally with Imbangala to conquer western Mbundu states.
1617	Benguela founded.
1617-1618	<i>Ngola a Kiluanje</i> defeated.
1620s	Kasanje founded by Imbangala.

1624	Njinga becomes Queen of Matamba.
17th century	Ovimbundu states under military rule.
1641-1648	Dutch occupation of Luanda. Kongo allies with the invaders.
1663	Queen Njinga dies.
1665	Kongo wracked by civil wars after loss to <i>conquista</i> at Mbwila.
1671	Portuguese build fort at Pungu a Ndongo.
1683	Portuguese establish <i>presídio</i> at Caconda.
1704-1706	Antonians seek to reunify Kongo.
1709	Kongo reunified.
1720s-1730s	Expanding slave trade spreads warfare into Central Highlands.
Mid-18th century	Lunda becomes a major power. Merchant-princes take over in Mbailundu and Viye.
1759	New fort at Encoje doesn't stop Portuguese trade losses.
1784-1791	Kongo-French trade continues despite Portuguese attacks.
From 1807	European powers outlaw maritime slave trade.

1821	Brazil wins independence from Portugal.
1830s	Coffee plantations started in <i>conquista</i> .
1834	Portuguese abolish ivory monopoly.
1836	Export Angolan slave trade made illegal.
1840	Moçâmedes founded.
1842	Abolition of slave trade under Portuguese flag.
1843	Lobito founded.
1844	Anti-slave-trade court opened at Luanda.
1845	<i>Presídio</i> established at Huíla.
About 1850	Chokwe expand into rubber and slave trade.
1855	Portuguese occupy Ambriz.
1872-1873	Ndembu rises against Portuguese expansion.
1878	Slavery officially abolished in Angola. English Baptists settle in Kongo.
1879-1920s	Boers found a colony in southern Angola.
c.1880-1912	Wild rubber export boom.

1885, 1891, 1897	Anti-Portuguese wars in Humbe.
1885	Chowke sack Lunda capital.
1890-1891	Colonial forces defeat Viye and deport leader, Ndunduma.
1902-1904	Mbailundu resistance wars.
1903	Work started on the Benguela railway.
1904-1915	Kwanyama wars against Portuguese encroachment.
1904-1905	Lunda people revolt against Portuguese.
1907-1910	Insurrection in Ndembu.
1909-1910	Revolt in Matamba.
1910	Portugal becomes a republic.
1910-1913	Several early nationalist groups founded.
1912-1913	Government reforms under Governor-general Norton de Matos.
1913-1915	Kongo war against forced labor.
1917	Diamang founded.
1917-1919	Ndembu revolt.
1919-1921	New nationalist-oriented groups founded in Luanda.

1921	Colonial admin. reform. Anti-government revolt in Catete.
1926-1930	Beginning of fascist New State under António Salazar.
1929	Benguela Railway opened to Shaba copper mines.
1931	Movimento Nacionalisto Africano founded.
1933	More administrative reforms legislated.
1941	Herero revolt crushed.
1951	Portugal renames colonies "Overseas Provinces."
1953-1957	Modern nationalist movements PLUA, MPLA, and UPNA founded.
1959	PIDE introduced into Angola to combat nationalism.
1960	June: Agostinho Neto arrested; 30 killed in protests. Nov.: Jailed Cabinda nationalists shot.
1961	Jan.: severe government reprisals against cotton strike. Feb. 4: MPLA-led nationalists attack the Luanda prison. Mar. 15: an uprising begins in the north. April: CONCP is founded in Casablanca.

- 1961 April: the UN calls for decolonization;
Portugal sends more troops to Angola.
Sept.: *Assimilado* status abolished.
Oct.: MPLA opens exile headquarters.
- 1962 Spring: PDA and UPA merge to create
FNLA. GRAE formed. Forced labor
prohibited.
July: Neto flees from Portugal to
Zaire.
Dec: Neto elected President of MPLA.
- 1963 MPLA opens military campaign in
Cabinda. FLEC founded.
July: an OAU mission recognizes
GRAE.
Nov.: MPLA is expelled from
Kinshasa. Moves to Brazzaville.
- 1964 Jonas Savimbi resigns from
FNLA/GRAE.
- 1965 OAU starts funding MPLA operations.
- 1966 UNITA formed inside Angola with
Savimbi as president.
- 1967 Cabinda Gulf Oil begins production.
- 1971 OAU formally withdraws recognition
from GRAE.
- 1973 December "Eastern Revolt" from
MPLA.
- 1974 April 24: Portuguese coup.

1974

July: Portugal signs armistice with liberation movements; appoints interim government; anti-African settler violence breaks out in cities; "people's power" groups formed in defense.
Aug.: FAPLA founded. Provisional Government takes over.
Sept.: MPLA militants elect a Politburo and Central Committee.
Oct.: FNLA opens an office in Luanda.
Nov.: FLEC fails to get control of Cabinda.

1975

Jan. 15: Portugal, MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA sign Alvor Agreement; Transitional Government installed on 31st.
Feb. 4: Neto returns to Luanda.
April: FNLA and MPLA begin fighting in Luanda and the north.
July 15: MPLA ousts FNLA and UNITA from the capital.
July: Airlift begins taking Portuguese *retornados* back to Lisbon.
Aug.: UNITA attacks stop Benguela Railway; Alvor Agreement suspended; government now under a High Commissioner.
Mid-Sept.: MPLA forces hold 12 of 16 provinces.
Late Oct.: South African troops join UNITA and FNLA forces threatening Luanda; Cubans begin arriving to support MPLA.

- 1975
- Nov. 11: ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE. MPLA proclaims the People's Republic of Angola (RPA).
- Nov. 12: FNLA and UNITA announce a coalition government called the Democratic People's Republic of Angola.
- Nov. 24: Nigeria becomes the first African country to recognize the RPA.
- Dec.: South African invasion halted by FAPLA.
- 1976
- Jan.: MPLA and Cuban forces take FNLA headquarters at Uige.
- Feb.: RPA is admitted to the OAU; recognized by Portugal. MPLA begins organizing a new administration.
- March 27: S. African troops withdraw.
- Dec.: Angola admitted to the UN.
- 1977
- Government announces Three Year Development Plan; introduces a new currency; survives an attempted coup under Nito Alves.
- Dec.: MPLA First Party Congress changes itself into the Angolan Worker's Party (MPLA-PT). Law of State Intervention begins nationalization process.
- 1978
- Year of Agriculture proclaimed. Benguela Railway reopened.
- 1979
- May: UNITA steps up guerrilla attacks.
- Sept. 10: President Neto dies.

- 1979 Sept. 21: José Eduardo dos Santos succeeds as President of Angola, President of MPLA-PT, and Commander-in-Chief of FAPLA.
- 1980 Elections for local, provincial and national People's Assemblies held. Angola joins in founding SADCC.
- 1981 President creates a "super-government" under the secretariat of the MPLA Central Committee.
Aug./Sept.: SADF launches "Operation Protea" sending 5,000 troops into Kunene province; launches commando raids from occupied zone.
UNITA attacks on economic targets, especially the Benguela Railway.
Savimbi visits the U.S. FLNA and FLEC very weak.
- 1982 UNITA escalates its campaign in Huambo and Bié. U.S. endorses linkage of Namibian independence to Cuban withdrawal.
- 1983 Feb.: MPLA-PT Central Committee adopts an emergency plan to cope with worsening economic, political and military situation.
UNITA expands operations into the north and west.
Early Dec.: South Africa launches "Operation Askari" to destroy SWAPO bases in Angola; takes Kasinga.
Dec. 20: UN Security Council condemns the invasion.

- 1984 Feb.: Lusaka Agreement: South Africa to pull out of Kunene; SWAPO out of Angolan sanctuaries.
Over the year 1,500 FNLA members take advantage of amnesty.
Nov.: UNITA congress restructures its military.
- 1985 July/Oct.: FAPLA offensive against UNITA capital at Jamba turned back at Mavinga.
July: U.S. repeals Clark amendment; begins aiding UNITA.
Dec: Second MPLA-PT Congress, with a membership heavily weighted toward military personnel, intellectuals, and government employees, gives the President more authority.
- 1986 With U.S. covert aid, UNITA expands its guerrilla offensive to 90 percent of the country. Expanded war displaces thousands and cripples national infrastructure.
MPLA-PT reorganizes the administration into eight super-ministries. Ex-FNLA continue their return.
- 1987 FAPLA, with improved air force, inflicts heavy losses on SADF in Mavinga.
New government economic recovery plan emphasizes foreign investment, economic decentralization.

1988

Jan.: SADF & UNITA lay siege to Cuito Cuavanale.

Feb.: FAPLA relieves the city after a fierce battle, restoring the stalemate.

Sept.: SADF retreats to its buffer zone near the border as per U.S.-Cuba-brokered pact.

Dec.: Namibia independence accord includes troop withdrawal plan. SADF begins pullback.

1989

UNITA shifts operations east towards Zairean airstrips used by U.S. to supply them arms.

Both U.S. and USSR bring pressure on MPLA and UNITA to begin peace talks.

June.: Savimbi and dos Santos meet for the first time at Gbadolite, Zaire.

Agreement, brokered by several African heads of state, proves unworkable.

Angola joins the World Bank and IMF.

1990

Informal discussions continued in many capitals with few results, but both USSR and U.S. continue to pressure their respective allies to end the war, keeping hopes alive.

MPLA Third Party Congress votes to convert to a social democratic party; allow competing parties; schedule elections; and rewrite the Constitution of the RPA. Government continues to seek foreign investment and begins privatization in some domestic sectors.

1991

UNITA agrees to cease-fire only when all Cubans have left in July.

Mar.: Legalization of multiparty system takes effect.

May 1: Peace Accord initialed in Lisbon.

May 26: Last Cuban troops leave Angola.

May 29: Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA President Jonas Savimbi formally sign the Peace Accord ending Angola's 16-year-old civil war.

Sep. 29: Savimbi returns to Luanda to begin his election campaign.

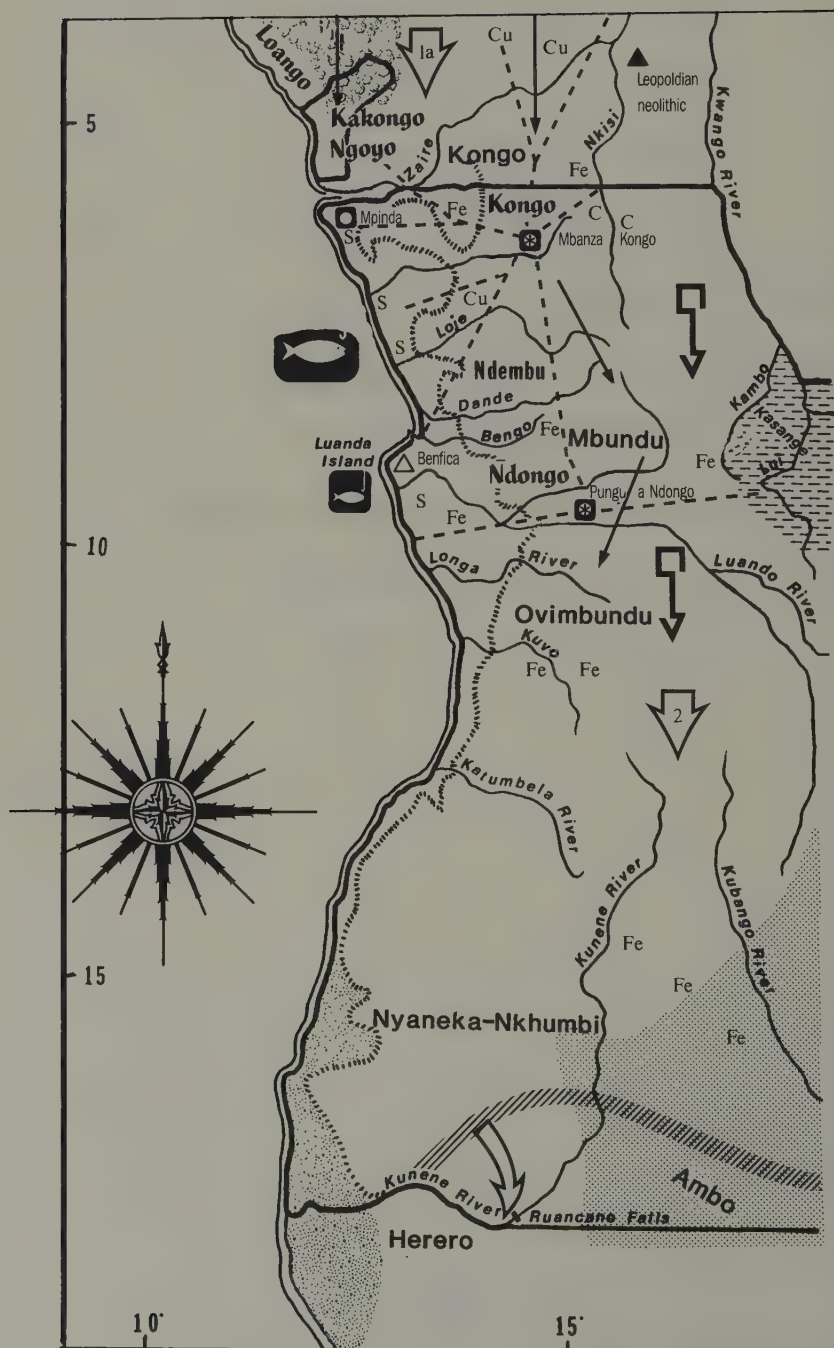
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Oct.: Multiparty elections scheduled.

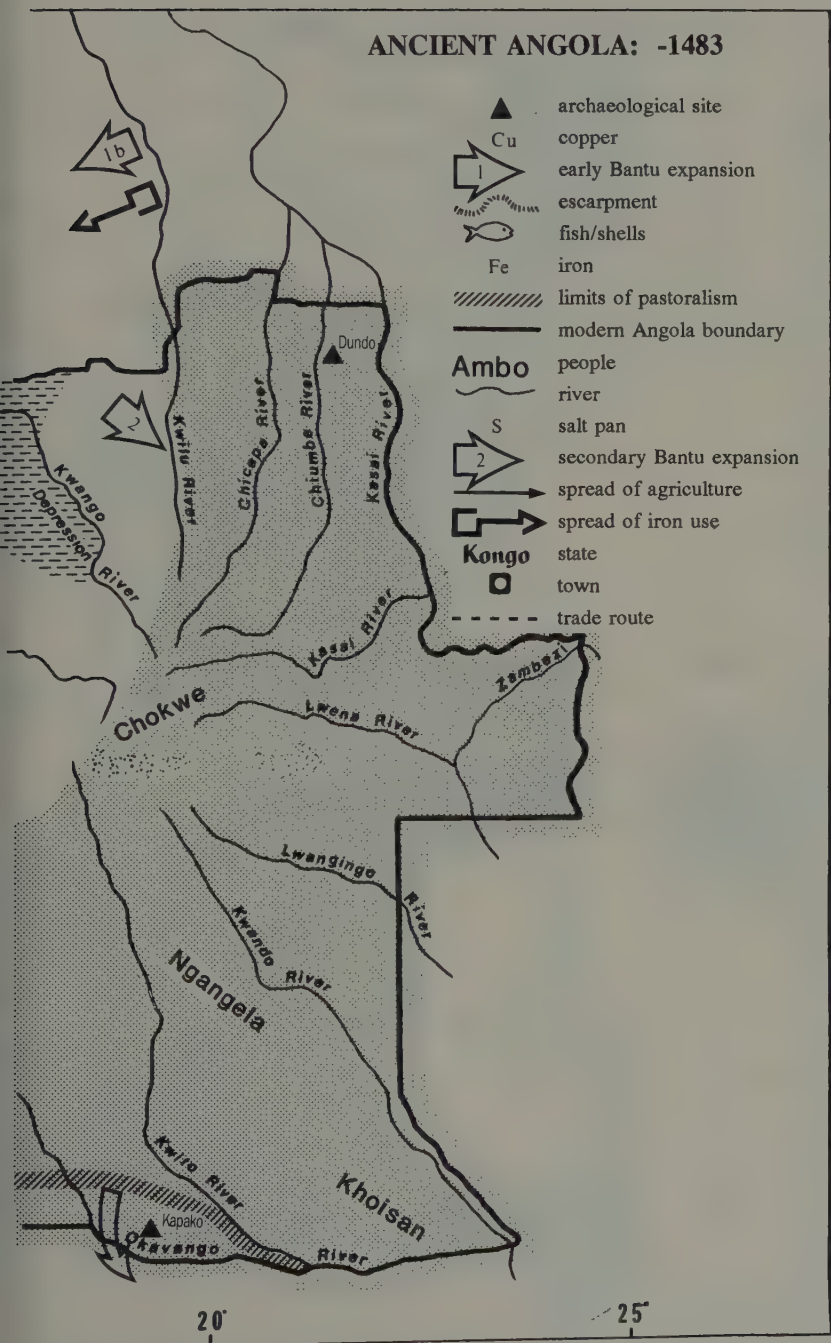
HISTORICAL MAPS

- Map 2. Ancient Angola, to 1483.
- Map 3. Atlantic Era: Initial Trade and Conquest.
- Map 4. Atlantic Era: Early Colonial Period.
- Map 5. Atlantic Era: Formation of the Modern Colony.
- Map 6. Atlantic Era: Modern Colonial Angola.
- Map 7. The People's Republic of Angola.

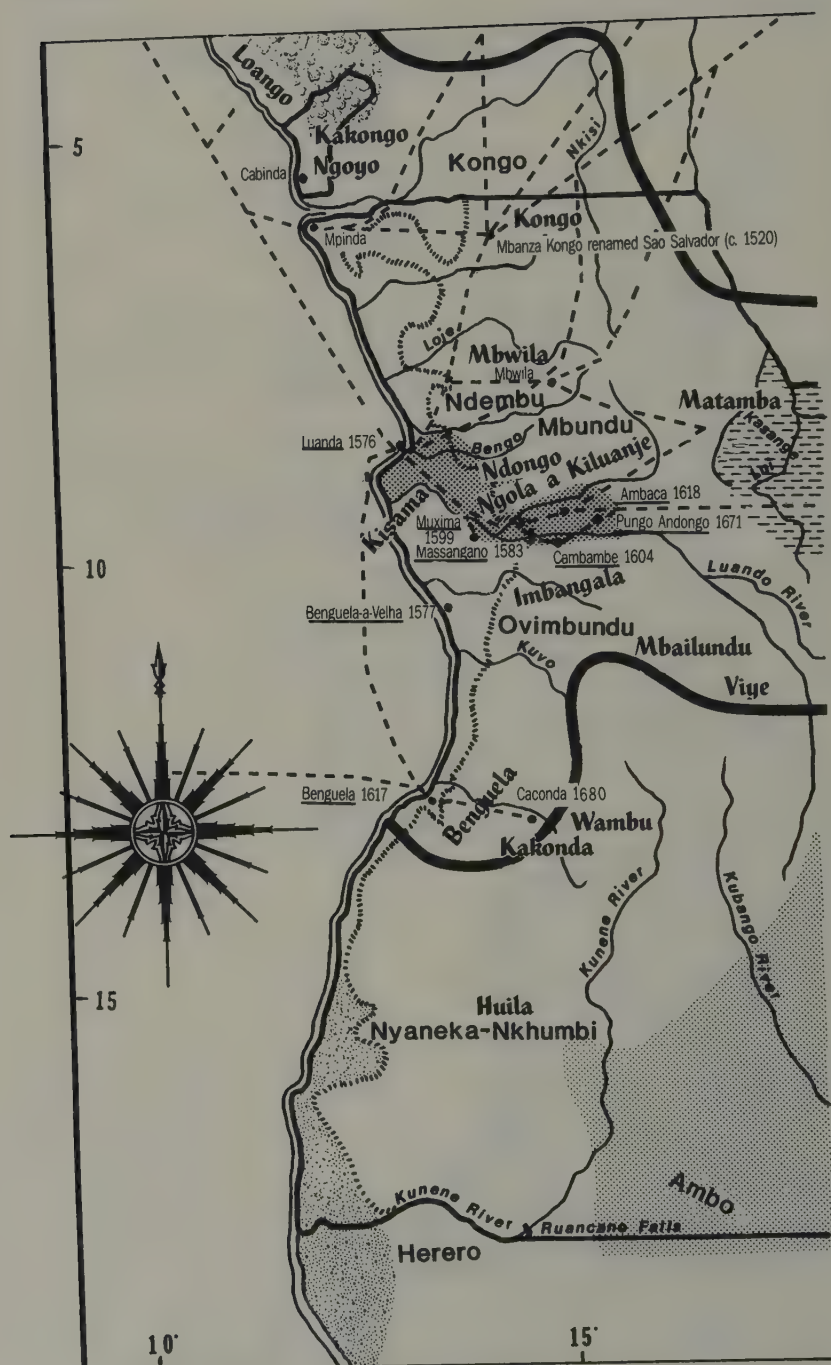
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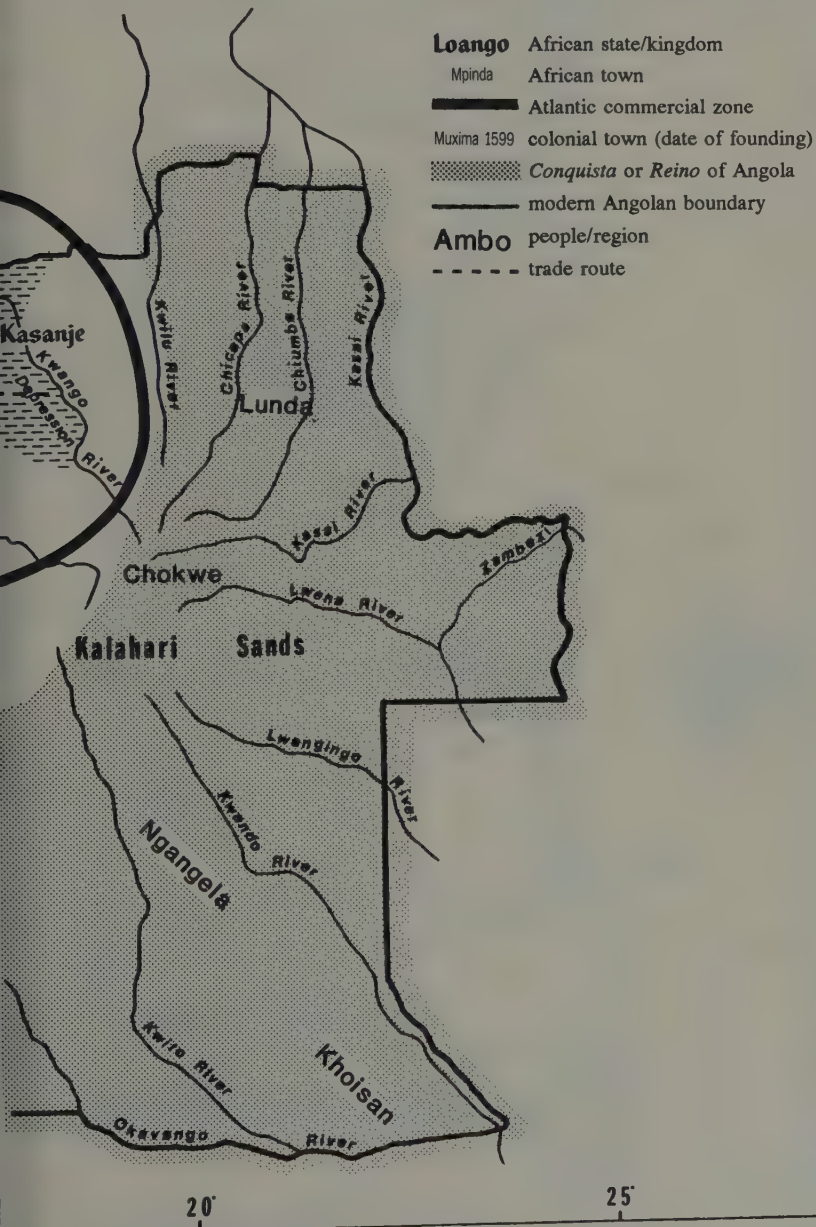
ANCIENT ANGOLA: -1483



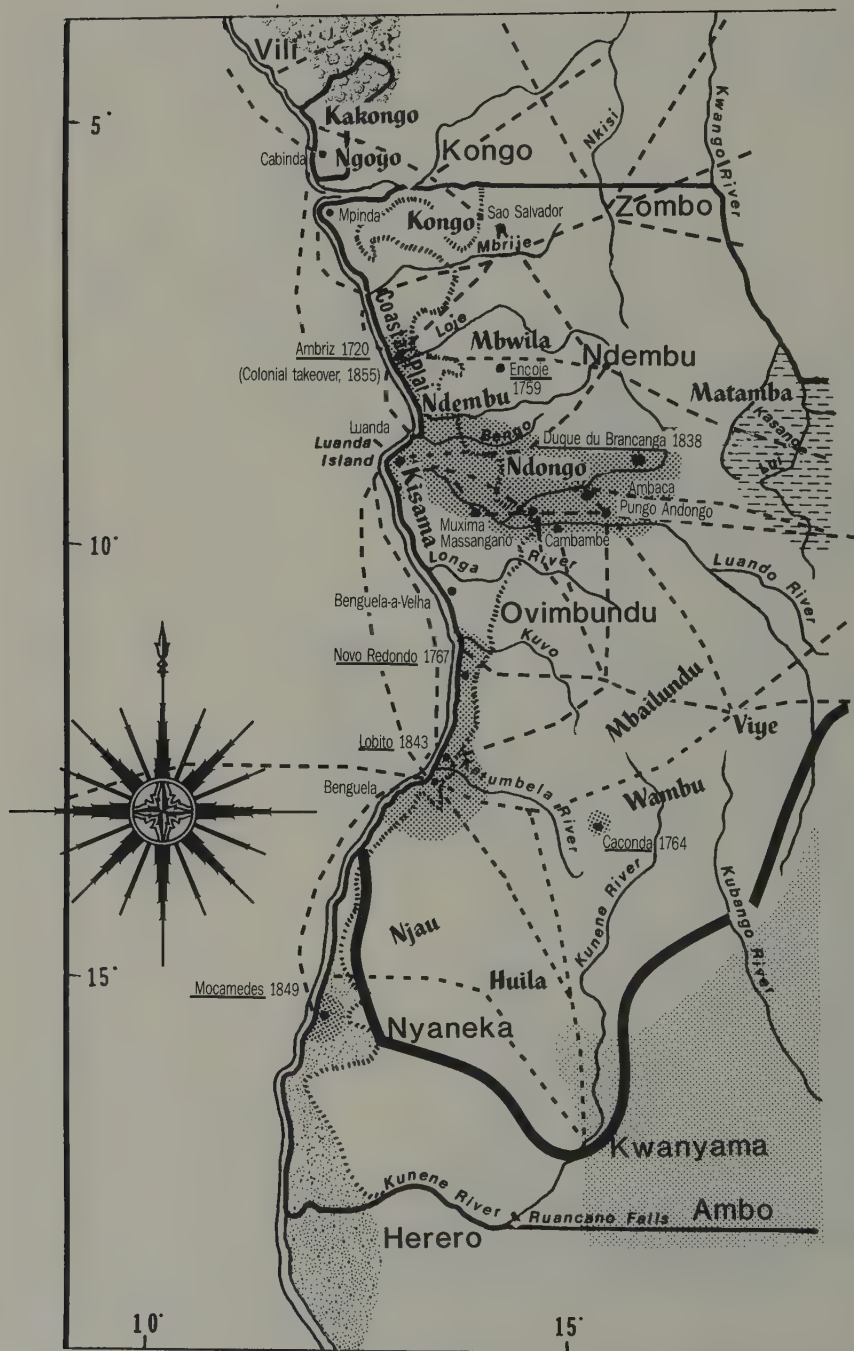
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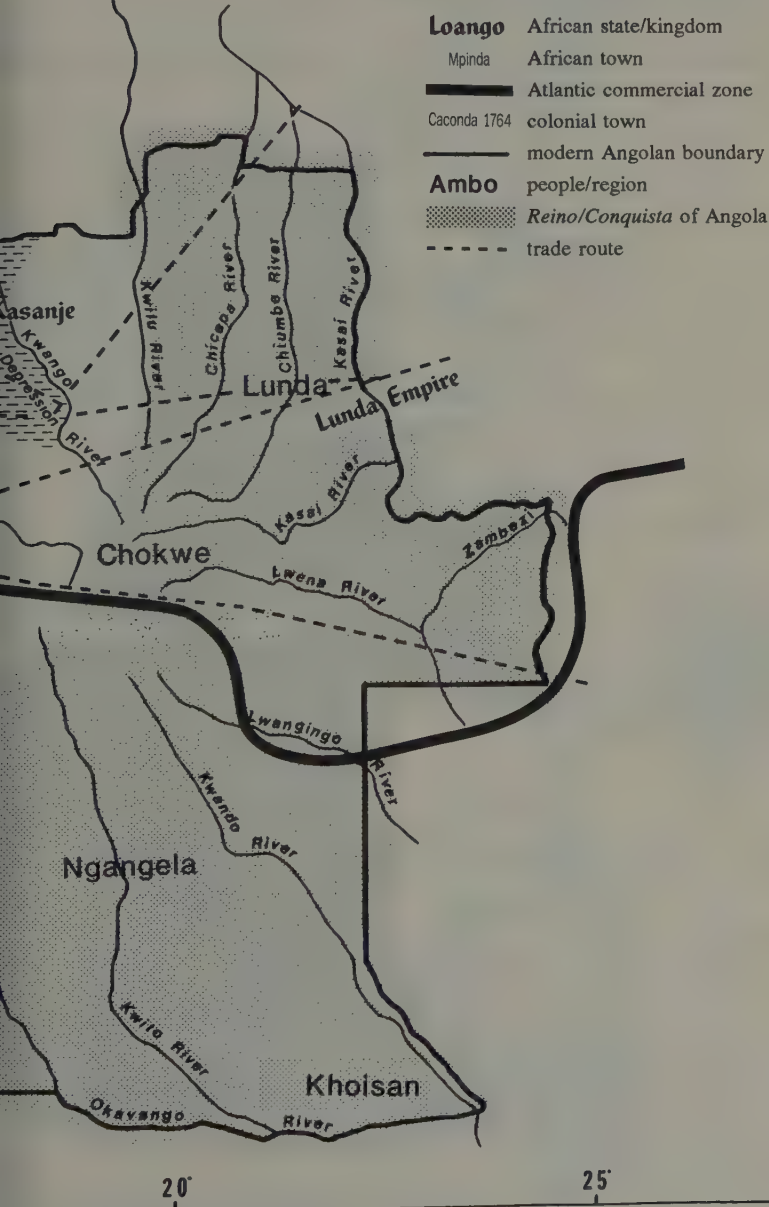
ATLANTIC ERA: Initial Trade and Conquest, 1483-c.1680



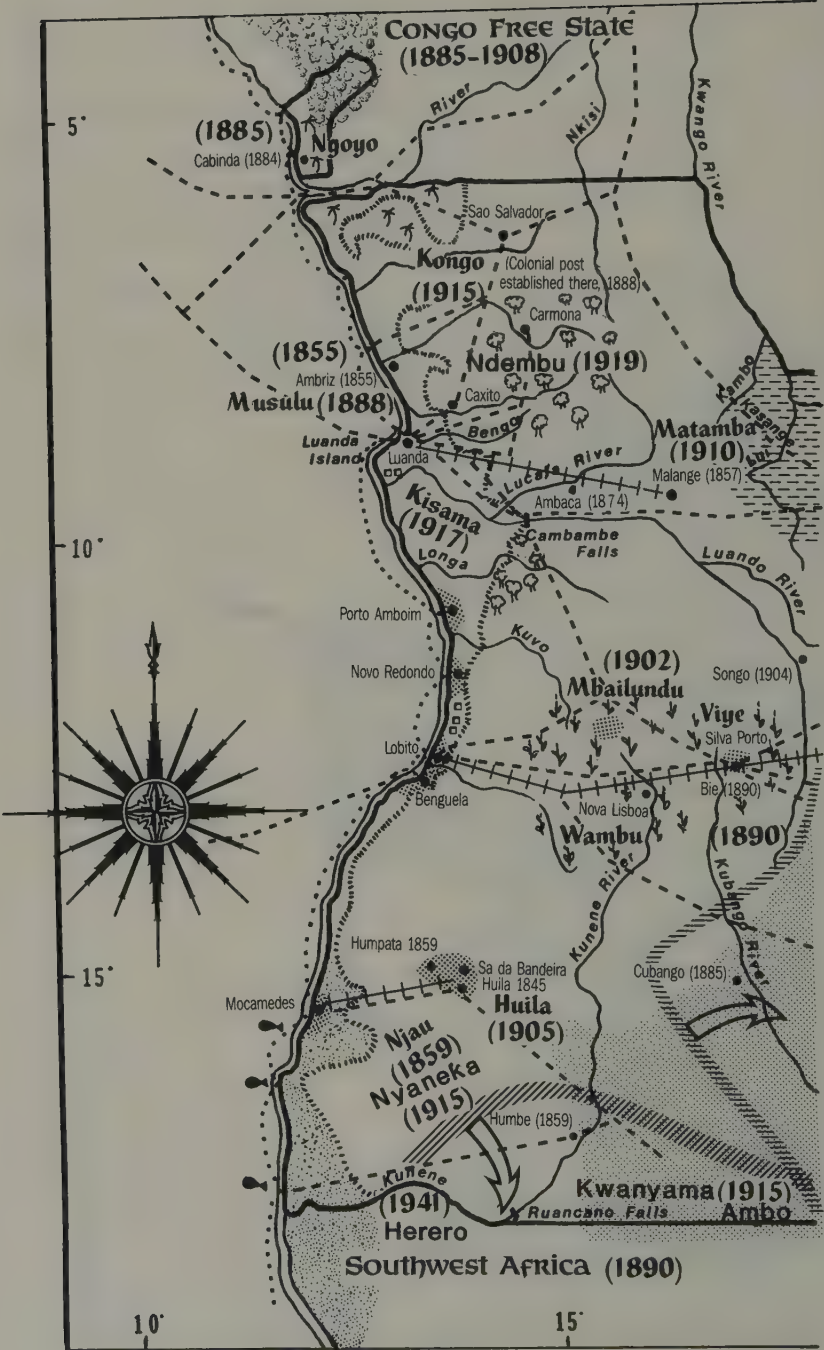
Map 4



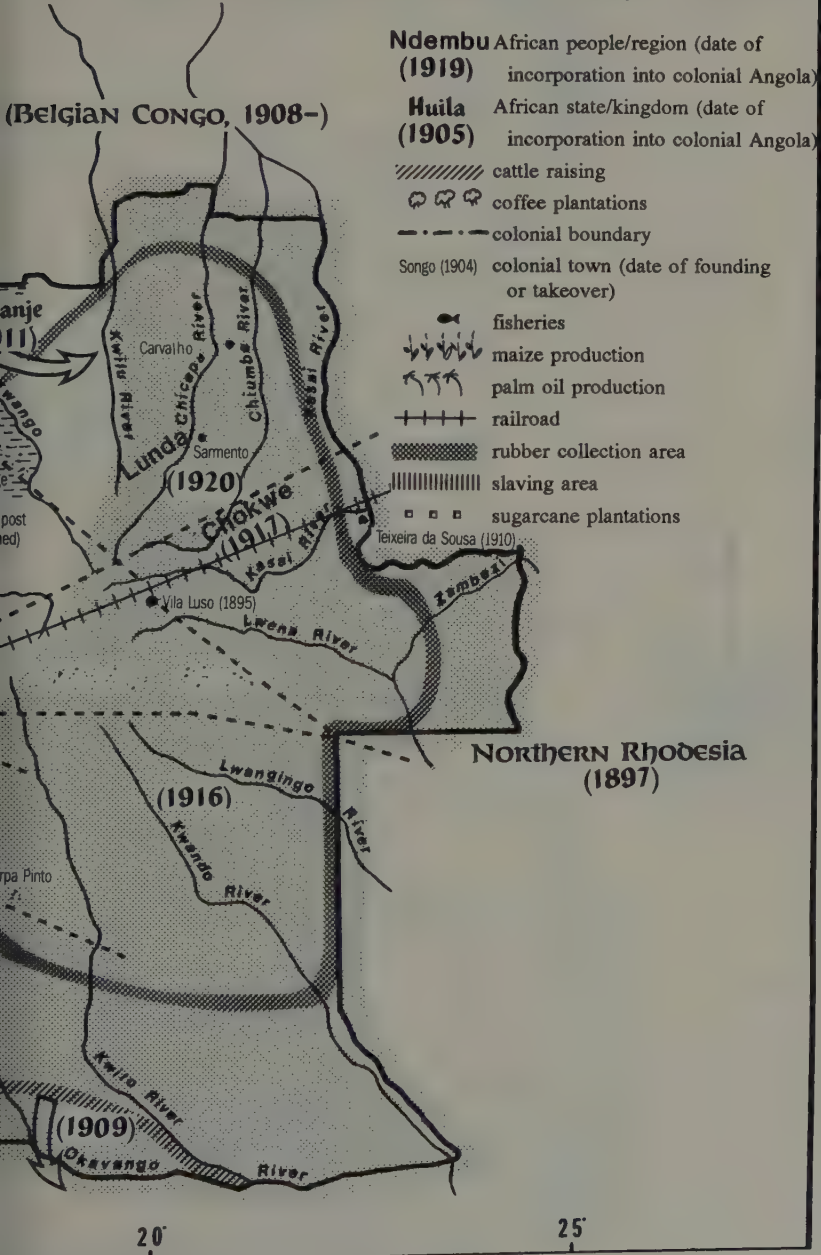
ATLANTIC ERA: Early Colonial Era, c.1680-1850



Map 5















ATLANTIC ERA: Formation of the Modern Colony, c.1850-1920



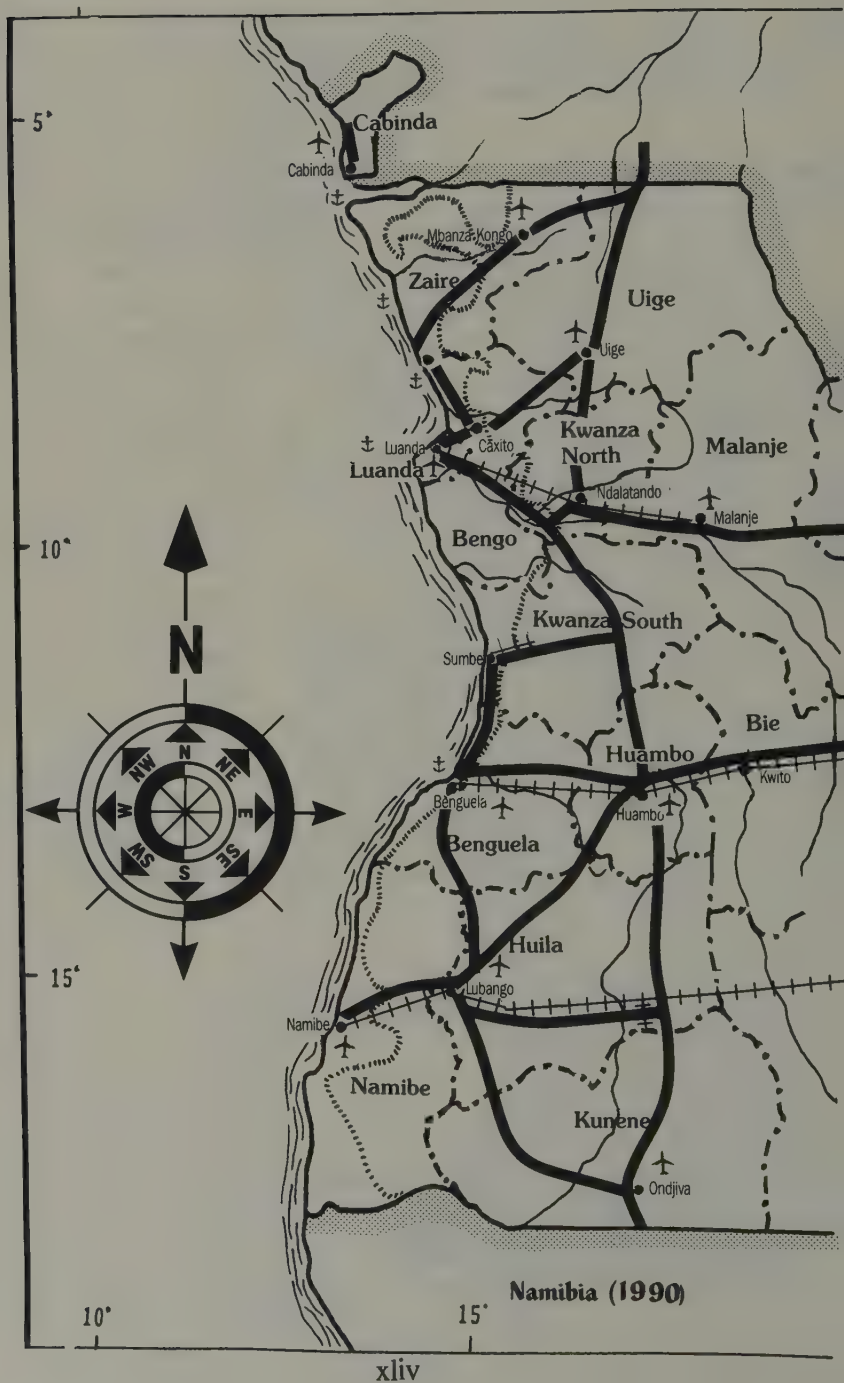
Map 6



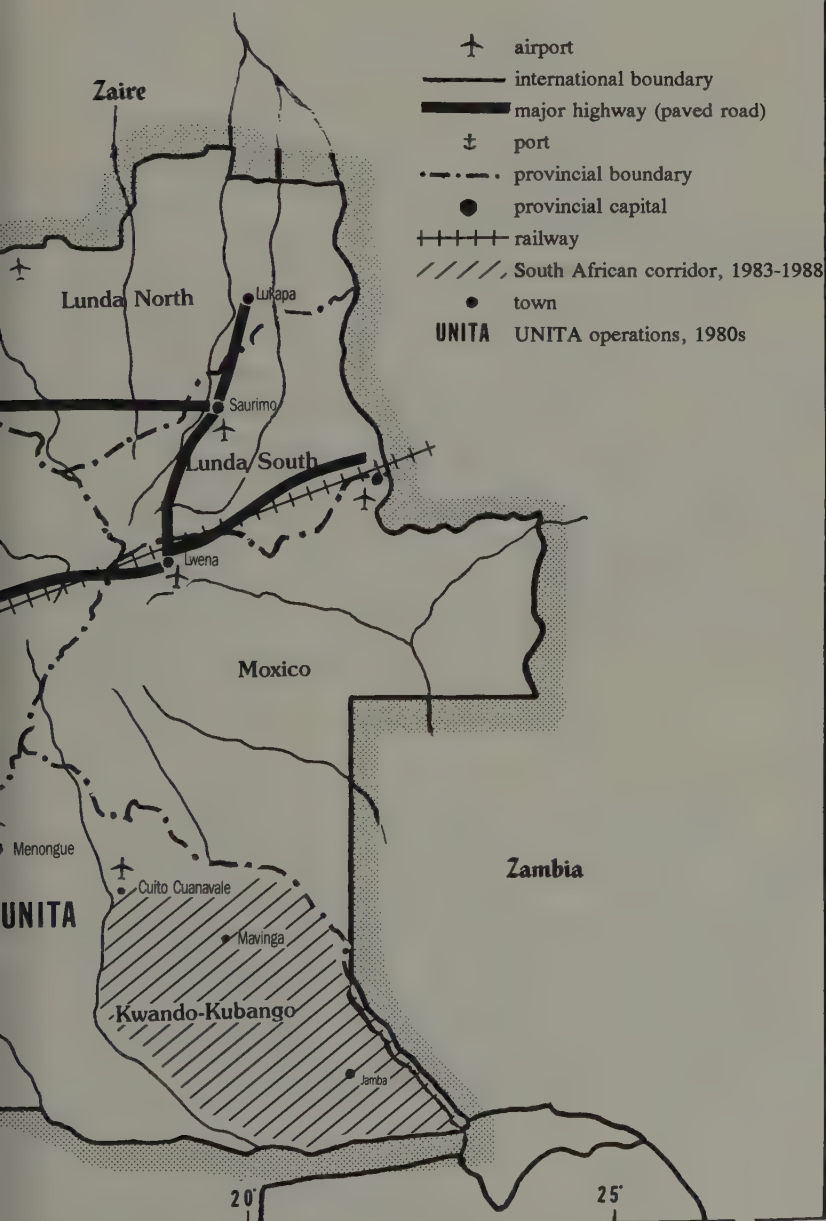
	airport
	cattle raising
	coffee plantations
	cotton production
①	diamond mining
FNLA	FNLA claimed in 1975
	hydroelectric project
	international boundary
	iron mining
	maize farming
MPLA	MPLA claimed in 1975
Ⓐ	petroleum production
	province
	provincial capital
	railway
	road
•	town
UNITA	UNITA claimed in 1975

Northern Rhodesia to Zambia (1965)

Map 7



THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA: -1991



INTRODUCTION

Bordering the Atlantic Ocean for more than 1,000 miles between 5 and 18 degrees south latitude, the People's Republic of **Angola** (RPA) is located between 12 and 24 degrees east longitude. It is the seventh-largest country in Africa: larger than Texas and California combined. Its 481,453 square miles include the enclave of Cabinda, separated from the rest of the country by a strip of Zaire territory, but administered as an integral part of Angola. Moving inland clockwise from the north coast, Angola's immediate neighbors are the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zaire, Zambia and Namibia. In the west a low coastal plain, cut by river valleys and dotted with natural harbors, is separated from the vast interior plateaux by dramatic escarpments, especially in the center and south. Together these provide a rich variety of tropical environments and abundant repositories of natural resources.

Terrain and Climate

The overall physical features of Angola reflect its position in the broader topography of southern Africa, which consists of a raised interior plain edged by a narrow coastal rim. Angola forms the westernmost extension of this great central continental plate, fringed near the Atlantic by mountains emerging out of the coastal lowland. In Angola the interior plateau lands have an average elevation of 3,200 to 4,500 feet, with some western peaks reaching between 6,500

and 8,600 feet above sea level before they drop, through a series of dramatic escarpments, to the coast below. Only in the north towards the Zaire basin, where the interior elevations are lower, are the east-west zones of habitation less clearly marked and the descent to the coast less dramatic. The historically most significant of the plateaux are those which form the western third of the country. From north to south these are the Kongo Highlands, with their most rugged terrain in the southern Ndembu hills; the Malanje Plateau; and the Central Highlands. These western highland formations are generally better watered than either the adjacent coast on their west or the vast plains to the east and south.

Though arid, the coastal belt has played an important historical role since the late 15th century when its natural harbors began to attract overseas merchants and colonists to West Central Africa, particularly from Portugal. These coastal lowlands vary in width from about 100 miles just south of Luanda to only 15 miles in the region of Benguela. Outside of the port cities, which can afford to import foodstuffs, these lowlands are only sparsely populated, especially from the Luanda region south; the regions bordering Namibia are fully desert.

Cutting east-west through the coastal belt, a series of rivers flow from the interior. These, with their tributaries, created fertile valleys which have attracted intensive agricultural settlement over many centuries. With the exception of the estuary of the lower Zaire River, which borders Angola for about 80 miles in the north, these Atlantic-bound rivers have their origins in Angola itself. The most important are, from north to south, the Loje, Dande, Bengo, Kwanza, Katumbela, and Kunene. In the east other rivers of importance to Angolan history are northward-flowing Zaire tributaries, the Kwango and the Kasai. Also significant are the upper reaches of the Indian Ocean-bound Zambezi with its major regional affluent, the Kwando, as well as the Kubango which flows into the Okavango. Only the Zaire and the Kwanza are navigable for any distance inland from the Atlantic.

Although there are many microenvironments in Angola, in general the climate is tropical, with the major exception of the subtropical Central Highlands region. Rainfall follows a generally north-south configuration, with higher amounts in the northern and central *planaltos*. It falls seasonally, with rainy periods of varying lengths coming between October and May. The cold Benguela current flowing north through the adjacent Atlantic accounts for significantly reduced coastal rainfall levels. While ancient northward thrusts of the Kalahari Desert bequeathed sandy soils to the east and inland south, the modern desert reaches only as far as the southern slopes of the Highlands.

Human and Natural Resources

Modern Angola is a country with a rich diversity of people and an abundance of natural resources. With a population estimated in 1990 to be approaching 10,000,000 people, Angola is a country of young farmers. About 40 percent of the people are 15 years old or under and, as of 1988, an estimated 80 percent are rural dwellers, mostly employed in the subsistence agricultural sector. This farming majority is, as historically has been the case, concentrated in those areas with the best soil and rainfall conditions, namely the central highland region and the northern interior. However, cities, especially Luanda, have been growing very rapidly--their numbers swollen in the last decade by refugees from fighting in the countryside.

Although the official language of Angola is Portuguese, only a small number of citizens speak it as a mother tongue. These are mostly immigrants from Portugal itself, or people of mixed Portuguese-African heritage. The vast majority of Angolans speak one of a family of closely related Bantu languages. There are many distinct ethnolinguistic communities within the country. The largest is that of the Ovimbundu, who constitute about a third of the population. Next most numerous are the Mbundu and related Afro-Portuguese peoples, with almost a quarter. Next most populous are the

Kongo, Lunda-Chokwe, and Ngangela, who together make up another 25 percent. Smaller communities, with Angolan populations estimated at under 50,000 each, include the Nyaneka-Nkhumbi, Ambo, and Herero.

The constituent communities of Angola are today mainly distinguished by language. Political, cultural, and ethnic identities are both dynamic and overlapping. Furthermore, intergroup relations and identities were long influenced by the politics of Portuguese colonialism and more recently by those of Angolan nationalism. This is particularly true of the more populous western half of the country, and especially of Luanda, Benguela, and their hinterlands.

In order to provide a clearer framework for understanding history in Angola, further aspects of physical features, climate, resources and demography will be considered on a regional basis in the context of current provincial divisions of the country. There are 18 provinces, which can be grouped into six geographic regions.

The **north** includes *Zaire*, *Utge*, and *Cabinda*. The latter forms both a separate province and a distinct historical-geographic region. All three northern provinces are Kongo country, home to peoples speaking kiKongo and related languages and belonging historically to the Kongo Kingdom or its neighbors. The climate here is tropical; the land more forested, the hills and escarpments lower in altitude than is the case further south.

The northern enclave of Cabinda receives the most rainfall. Centuries of human use have reduced its once dense tropical rain forest, but timber continues to be an important resource, along with tree products such as palm oil. Substantial petroleum reserves are located offshore. Phosphates and manganese are mined in the interior. Good harbors and strategic location have also played a large role in the historical development of this province, whose people assumed a pioneering role in regional commercial development.

The northernmost region of Angola proper centered historically on Mbanza Kongo, ancient political and commercial center of Kongo. The area is largely tropical woodland

savannah. Wooded hilltops are ideal for coffee, the main cash crop. Other area agricultural products are cocoa, cotton, tobacco, sisal, rice, palm oil, sugar, and timber. Mineral resources include phosphates, manganese, and copper. Manioc, which was introduced from Brazil in the 16th century, continues to be the staple crop. Yams, sweet potatoes, and bananas are also commonly produced for local consumption. The prevalence of the tse-tse fly north of the Kwanza River makes cattle raising uneconomical, but people do raise sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry.

Northern Angola is bordered on the east by the Kwango River, which separates it from Zaire, and in the south by the wooded hills of Ndembu, which have historically provided refuge for dissidents fleeing neighboring lands. Coffee, promoted since the 1830s as a plantation-grown export, remains the principal cash crop of this borderland, an ancient trading crossroads.

To the south of Ndembu one enters Mbundu country, heartland of the old Portuguese *conquista* or colony of Angola, which centers on the beautifully situated city of Luanda. The **Luanda region** encompasses both coastal and plateau lands, extending mainly between the valleys of the Dande and Kwanza rivers. It includes *Luanda*, *Bengo*, and *Kwanza North* provinces, as well as most of *Malanje*, and the northern section of *Kwanza South*. Several important Mbundu states figure significantly in Angolan history, among them Ndongo, Matamba, and Kasanje. Although this is Mbundu country, the Afro-Portuguese community also has its roots here in the old colony, whose history set the stage for the later creation of modern Angola.

Luanda, the national capital and largest city, is the administrative and cultural capital of the country. It is also a shipping and manufacturing center. Luanda and surrounding Bengo are now estimated to have more than a million and a half residents, while the region is home to almost a third of the population of the country. It is also rich in resources. Agriculture is basic, with manioc and maize (another American import) being grown for local consumption. Coffee, sisal,

bananas and cotton are produced for sale. Timber is abundant in Bengo and Kwanza North. There are manganese deposits in Malanje, and a large hydroelectric power project at Cambambe supplies the power for manufacturing in Luanda.

The **Central Highlands**, including the provinces of *Bié*, *Huambo*, *Huíla*, and part of *Kwanza South*, with almost 40 percent of the Angolan population, have long been a focal point for human settlement. In this, their historic home, the Ovimbundu people founded many kingdoms based on control of fertile lands, numerous populations, and strategic trade routes. Three of the most important, founded in the 18th century, were Mbailundu, Viye and Wambu. In the late colonial period the region also attracted European settlers to its comparatively fertile, temperate, well-watered lands.

Today, as has been the case historically, the most densely settled areas are the temperate savannahs north of modern Huambo with elevations over 3,000 feet. Farming is the principal economic activity of the region, with maize being the main crop both for subsistence and commercial farmers. Other crops of importance are potatoes, cassava, *arabica* coffee, tobacco and beans. In the southern section cattle raising is important. There is substantial exploitation of iron ore and known reserves of copper and feldspar in the region.

The **coastal lowlands** south of Luanda form a distinctive region of port cities, salt pans and fisheries, which includes most of *Benguela* and *Namibe* provinces. Historically these drier lowlands supported only small populations engaged in supplying fish, salt, and shells to the adjacent highlands. Since the founding of Benguela in 1617 regional growth has been tied to the flow of exports from the more populous inland regions. Most residents now are urban dwellers drawn to the ports of Lobito, Benguela, or Namibe to work on the docks, in the fisheries, or in the transport, manufacturing and food-processing sectors.

In this region agriculture is only possible along river banks where irrigation is available. Sugar, tobacco and sisal are among the crops grown in Benguela province. Cattle are grazed here in the absence of the tse-tse fly found in the moist-

er zones. Salt continues to be produced, and there are copper reserves in Namibe. Power for the manufacturing and procession industries in Benguela and Lobito is produced by a hydroelectric project on the Katumbela River.

The arid **south** encompasses the basins of the Zambezi-tributary Kubango and Kunene Rivers, and includes the large provinces of *Kunene* and *Kwando-Kubango*. It is bordered on the south by the Kunene River, which divides Angola from Namibia, and on the east by Zambia. The inland deltas and extensive arid or semi-arid plains of this region are home to Ambo, Herero and Nyaneka-Nkhumbi peoples, whose principal livelihood is cattle raising. There is some farming in the bottoms of seasonal rivers. Communities tend to be clustered in areas of available water, with generally low population densities.

In addition to cattle raising the far south has significant resources in water power. There is a large hydroelectric project on the Kunene River. However, internal and international conflict have prevented the full development of the power resources of Ruancana Falls.

The vast **east**, encompassing *Lunda North*, *Lunda South*, and *Moxico* provinces, is home to the Lunda, Lunda-Chokwe, Ngangela and related peoples with historic ties to the old Lunda Empire in what is now Zaire. The land is open, rolling country cut by northward-flowing tributaries of the Zaire River. Soils are sandy as a consequence of ancient climatological shifts which deposited Kalahari sands far to the north of the present desert's borders. The valleys of the northward-flowing Kasai and Kwango and their tributaries support farming and fishing in the northeast, while cattle are raised in the open country to the south, in the Zambezi basin. Overall population densities of the region are low. However, the northeast is rich in diamonds, the second-most important export after petroleum. It also has reserves of copper and timber.

History and Historiography

The modern independent country of Angola was born out of centuries of conflict and commerce between numerous culturally related African kingdoms and a Portuguese-founded colony. The RPA descends from this small, basically Luso-Mbundu state formed when the Portuguese crown granted African land to Paulo Dias de Novaes, providing he seize and settle it. Novaes and his followers established themselves on the site of modern-day Luanda in 1576, and began a process of expansion at the expense of the neighboring Mbundu people. The name Angola itself comes from an Mbundu royal title. Although the early colonial state formed by this process drew key elements of its political organization, cultural identification, and overseas connections from Portugal, most of its population, and much of its social organization, language, daily routines, and economic resources were drawn from Mbundu.

In the *conquista*, if an individual professed Catholicism, spoke Portuguese, and adopted European dress, housing styles, and the like, then she or he was considered Angolan Portuguese, or "civilized." Other people were considered "natives"--uncivilized heathens--from the perspective of Lisbon. In official terms, all people living in tribute-paying territories of the *conquista* were considered colonials, even if their only relation to the government in Luanda was the payment of goods and services to their own leader, some portion of which ended up in Portuguese hands.

To the Mbundu and other neighboring African states and peoples, Portuguese Angola represented both an ongoing military threat and a strong commercial attraction. Practically from the beginning this conflicted presence was tied up in the dynamic of the transatlantic trade in slaves, which came ultimately to link the lives of people ancestral to most living Angolans, within and without the narrow boundaries of the early colonial state.

For the purposes of this survey, the terms early colony, early colonial state and *conquista* will refer only to the

lands actually within the colony called Portuguese Angola from its founding after 1589 until about 1850, when it began the process of expansion into its modern borders. The term Angola itself will be used to designate the lands eventually included in the modern state, or that modern state itself.

Despite the fact that the *conquista* controlled only a very small part of the territory of modern Angola, it played a major role in regional economic, military, and international relations from the 17th century on. The neighbors of this early colony, whose descendants are also citizens of contemporary Angola, included several major states--Kongo, Ndongo, Matamba, Kasanje, Viye and Mbailundu among them--whose history will be surveyed in this work. However, they also numbered many small autonomous communities, which provided a sense of identity and history to numerous of the peoples incorporated into modern Angola, but whose history has not yet been adequately studied and thus cannot be a part of a general historical survey.

Ancient Angola

Little is yet known about prehistoric populations of Angola. Much of what is known has been inferred from archaeological research carried out in contiguous areas of Zaire and Zambia. No adequate archaeological survey of the whole country as yet exists.

From the available data it appears that hominids using general-purpose stone implements colonized parts of Angola in very remote times. Over the course of several hundred thousand years of physical and cultural development these ancestral stocks came to share the physical attributes of homo sapiens sapiens. Like early humans elsewhere they developed specialized tools for their forest or savannah environments, along with the language skills and social institutions necessary for a successful life based on gathering and hunting.

By 10,000 years ago or so the foraging peoples who inhabited Angola had developed a Late Stone Age way of life which enabled them to exploit a wide range of environments

with specialized equipment and techniques. They had achieved a stable balance between themselves and the environment which allowed them to continue the basic elements of their way of life over a long period of time. However, by about 4,000 years ago influences and/or immigrants from the north began to upset this balance.

Techniques of food production based on yam cultivation, along with a more sedentary lifestyle and new technologies, especially polished stone tools and pottery, became established. It seems reasonably certain that these pioneer cultivators spoke Bantu-related languages. Their presence is associated archaeologically with the Leopoldian Neolithic industry of the lower Zaire. These early neolithic farming communities spread only very slowly, from one favorable environment to the next.

The growth of food-producing communities was greatly accelerated about 100-300 A.D., when newcomers, new crops, and new technologies spread rapidly through most of Angola. This marked the beginning of the Early Iron Age in the region. Cultivation of the vegetable banana and various millets, sometimes along with domestic cattle, combined with metalworking to enable agricultural communities to raise productivity, expand population, colonize more marginal lands, and absorb or displace foraging peoples. Along with the new crops and techniques came new elements of language from the east, which some scholars hypothesize combined with local speech to give rise to a language subfamily they call Western Highland Bantu.

By the 6th century of our era, Bantu-speaking farmers were expanding their settlements throughout both the forest and savannah lands of Angola. Farming gradually replaced foraging except in the less hospitable east. Only in the far south did pastoralism become fully established, beginning about the 9th century.

Although there is as yet no direct archaeological evidence for this, it seems likely that by about 1000 A.D. Angolan Iron Age peoples had put down roots and developed characteristic linguistic, social and cultural bases that were directly

ancestral to historic ethnolinguistic communities of Angola. Their metalworking technologies had become sophisticated enough to be classified as belonging to the Later Iron Age.

By 1400 all but one of the major historical factors which have influenced the history of Angola were in place. The three main types of subsistence agriculture had spread to their zones of greatest effectiveness. Networks of long-distance trade linked communities of market-oriented miners, fishermen, farmers, and artisans. The inhabitants spoke languages recognizably ancestral to those of their 20th century descendants. The northerners called themselves Kongo. Their neighbors to the south they called Mbundu. The people south of Mbundu came to be known as Ovimbundu.

By the 15th century, if not before, some communities in these more densely populated areas had established various forms of states--most of the so-called segmentary variety, characterized by governing systems in which authority is shared between a relatively weak central power and locally strong kin-based units. This has been documented for Mbundu. In Kongo, however, by the late 15th century, the monarchy was comparatively well developed under strong kings who had already succeeded in bringing under their sway much of northern Mbundu country as well as the shell deposits of Luanda Island. In other words, regional politics and commerce, at least north of the Kwanza, already displayed some striking features of much later times.

Unfortunately a Late Iron Age political and ethnic map for most of Angola cannot yet be drawn. Knowledge of the early history of most modern ethnic communities still awaits the necessary combination of linguistic, oral, and archaeological research.

The Atlantic (Portuguese) Era

Initial Trade and Conquest: 1483-c.1680

In 1400 the Atlantic was still a closed sea. After 1500 this situation changed dramatically as the maritime nations of

Europe explosively expanded into the outer world. Overnight the Atlantic became a zone of commercial opportunity for Angolans. Gradually, new crops were added to their agricultural repertoire, new religious and political ideas became available to their leaders, and new luxury goods were offered to their merchants. The price, however, was high. The Atlantic connection also brought new diseases, new weapons, new enemies and a new, international, European-oriented slave trade, which had affected almost all Angolans by 1700.

The earliest known seaborne visitors to Angola weighed anchor in the Zaire estuary in 1483, under sponsorship of the Portuguese Crown. They established diplomatic and commercial relations with the powerful kingdom of Kongo and began to collect information pertinent to their primary interests in commerce, Christian alliances, and precious metals, thus recording data about this part of the world for the first time.

The elite of the Kongo Kingdom responded to the new opportunities in ways, and with results, which recent scholarship suggests presaged the dynamic of events that would unfold in other kingdoms of Central Africa, as the Atlantic commercial zone reached them. At first, monarchs successfully took advantage of the new commerce, techniques, and ideas to strengthen their own positions politically vis-à-vis their rivals. However, within a few generations, those same rivals were themselves often able to use international connections to shake up the old politico-economic order, establishing new patterns more congenial to themselves.

The opening of the Atlantic frontier, while it is the single most important feature of West Central African history since 1500, is only one of the most significant historical factors which has affected the region overall. For a long time it did not result in wholesale European takeovers, or even significant westernization, but set in motion forces which gradually came to engage virtually all Angolan communities in the economic and political maelstrom of the expanding Atlantic zone.

The shape of things to come began to emerge in the early 16th century, when a group of Portuguese settled on the then-uninhabited islands of São Tomé and Príncipe. These men married into merchant families in Kongo, thus founding the Afro-Portuguese community. Using their connections to both Kongo and Portugal they established themselves as traders along the coast, exporting slaves to São Tomé to work on their sugar plantations. To supply their growing labor needs they pioneered the slave trade to Mbundu country through then-Kongo-held Luanda.

It was in part to counter this independent commerce that the Portuguese Crown granted land at Luanda to Paulo Dias de Novaes. With the 1576 founding of this new Portuguese royal dependency, all the elements for the creation of colonial Angola were in place. Patterns were quickly set which affected Angolan history until recent times. Three such are notable. The first was a tendency for the metropolitan-oriented Portuguese to resort to violence when they could not gain access to African labor and resources by more peaceful means. The second was the division of the Portuguese-speaking sphere into two competing factions, Afro-Portuguese and immigrant. The third was the subordination of Angolan colonial interests to those of Lisbon merchants or Brazilian planters.

After the death of Novaes in 1589, his rights reverted to the Crown, which henceforward sent royal governors from Lisbon to take charge of the colony. They were quickly followed to Luanda by metropolitan merchants, many of them marginal at home, who introduced European and Asian goods on credit, both stimulating the slave trade and squeezing the local Afro-Portuguese business people. Other immigrants were drawn from the ranks of Portuguese outcasts, dissidents, new Christians, or criminals. The survival rates for new arrivals were poor, particularly inland. This gave an edge to the acclimated Afro-Portuguese, insuring that metropolitan control would be weak outside the coastal towns until the 20th century.

Following Afro-Portuguese merchant precedents the early colonial governors concentrated their diplomatic, military and commercial efforts in Mbundu territory east of Luanda. By the 1630s they had succeeded in establishing a militarized zone, the *conquista*, which by the late 17th century reached inland for about 125 miles between the Bengo and Kwanza Rivers. For more than two centuries this small Afro-Portuguese-run African dependency, along with Luanda and the other coastal towns, remained the limit of Portuguese Angola.

As had been the case earlier with Kongo, and would be with many other African kingdoms participating in the spread of the Atlantic zone, foreign trade opportunities initially strengthened the *Ngola a Kiluanje* rulers of Ndongo, the main Mbundu trading partner of the Portuguese in this era. However, the growing slave trade and attendant military campaigns fueled factionalism and political decentralization. In 1624 the throne of the *Ngola* was seized by a usurper, the famous Queen Njinga, who turned against the Portuguese, skillfully allying in turn with the Imbangala, the Dutch, and then back to the Portuguese again. In the process she moved to Matamba, building it into a strong trading state which, along with neighboring Kasanje, remained independent of the *conquista*, controlling major coast-interior trade routes until well into the 19th century.

The Early Colonial Period: c.1680-1850

By the end of the 17th century patterns of relations between the *conquista*, its rulers, dependencies and neighbors had emerged, which remained basic to regional politics until almost the end of the 19th century. Mbundu was the most involved, providing both most of the *conquista's* inhabitants and its closest neighboring trade partners. Kongo, although itself politically decentralized after 1670, excluded Afro-Portuguese and Portuguese merchants from her interior and sent most slave exports to the north coast, while still maintaining bilateral relations with the Portuguese Crown. In Ovimbundu, states like Viye and Mbailundu, which grew up a century after

the establishment of the *conquista*, played a major role in 18th- and 19th-century inland commercial expansion, attracting Portuguese settlers and capital while remaining independent of colonial control.

Recent research on the slave-trade era suggests both that politics and policies emanating from African states in the region were fundamental shaping its history and that these states were themselves subject to cycles of centralization, factionalism, warfare and diplomacy fueled by a commercial competition which followed the rhythms of the slave-trade-driven Atlantic zone. To date much more research has been devoted to the slave-trade than to the history of Ngoyo, Viye or Kasanje.

The export of Africans as slave labor, which had begun with the development of sugar plantations on São Tomé, took off in the 1570s when sugar production began to increase in Brazil. In the mid-17th century American demand again escalated as the Dutch and other European powers began sugar production in the Caribbean. From the early 18th century until the effective abolition of the slave-trade in the mid-19th century, the demand for slave labor and the prices paid for the enslaved abroad increased steadily. England and France, the European "big powers" of the era, came to dominate the Atlantic, financially, commercially and militarily. They opened new ports along the Kongo coast and infiltrated Portuguese markets almost at will.

New business connections emanating from the coast gave rise to new business strategies among inland mercantile elements as well. Along the frontier of the Atlantic zone strong states, such as 18th-century Viye and Mbailundu, arose based on the ability of their merchants and military forces to control strategic markets and trade routes, or to produce captives for export by defeating rivals or raiding weaker neighbors. Once a part of the international trade network, many states such as Kasanje, Matamba or Viye remained strong and able to control key markets or caravan routes. Others, notably Kongo, became chronically decentralized, with vital interna-

tional trade managed largely by the autonomous Vili and Zombo merchant communities.

Between 1730 and 1790 hard times set in for the Afro-Portuguese of the *conquista*, who were faced with renewed competition from their financially stronger Portuguese and Brazilian coastal rivals. As these financially pressed local traders sought new sources of low-cost slaves beyond the Kwanza and Kunene, they contributed to the further eastward extension of the Atlantic zone, the expansion of Lunda, political reorganization in Ovimbundu, and a violent slaving revolution among the hitherto uninvolved Ngangela of eastern Angola. African and Afro-Portuguese merchants also developed a thriving trade with French and British merchants, ignoring Luanda and their creditors there.

From the middle of the 18th to the middle of the 19th century Central African commerce and politics were also significantly influenced by the rise of a strong Lunda state (in modern Zaire) which stimulated commercial growth and political change throughout most of Angola. By 1800 traders in the Lunda orbit had linked Atlantic and Indian Ocean commercial zones and stimulated further slave-trade expansion into both the northern forests and the Kalahari borderlands in the south. In Angola, Viye and Mbailundu eventually linked Benguela with trading partners in modern-day Zambia, southeastern Zaire, and Zimbabwe.

By the early-19th-century advent of the Industrial Revolution in England, the economic incorporation of Angolan communities into the global, European-oriented capitalist system was well advanced. Unlike Europe the economic relationships generated by the expansion of the slave trade benefitted few in Africa, contributing little to overall regional economic development. Labor was exported; key local manufactures were gradually replaced with foreign imports; social and legal structures were distorted by the pressures to profit from enslavement; and social class distinctions intensified, as the most ambitious businessmen and political leaders devoted themselves to the slave trade.

International conditions were also changed significantly in the late 18th century by European wars and increasingly stringent laws outlawing the slave trade that disrupted maritime commerce between about 1793 and 1820. However, when American merchant shipping took over from the departed Europeans, exports again rose to high levels, where they remained until enforcement of international abolition laws finally became effective in the 1840s. Slave exports from Angola plummeted in 1850, when Brazil finally abolished the trade. By 1865 the transatlantic slave trade from Angola had ended. The internal commerce in captives, however, continued, as African merchants, seizing new opportunities, created a virtual trading revolution. They now put readily available slaves to work locally--men in producing and transporting the commodities such as palm oil, coffee, natural resins, ivory, and wild rubber, now demanded by an industrializing Europe; and women in producing crops such as ground nuts and maize for both local consumption and export.

Formation of the Modern Colony: 1850-1920

With the end of the transatlantic slave trade in view, far-sighted Portuguese policymakers and businessmen began to push for the exploitation of Angolan labor and resources along more modern colonial lines. Military and diplomatic campaigns were launched in Angola to achieve the extensions of Portuguese authority necessary to implement such policies. These led to the founding of new forts at Kasanje, Kongo, and Malanje; the takeover of the Kongo port of Ambriz; and the founding of Moçâmedes.

However, Portugal couldn't maintain these advances and in 1870, despite her continuing grandiose claims based on "prior discovery," Angola still consisted of not much more than the ancient *conquista*. In fact, Portugal didn't have the economic or political strength to deal with her existing African territories or potential threats to them from powerful European neighbors, much less undertake colonial expansion.

This was still the situation in 1885 when the European powers, meeting in Berlin, declared that henceforward only "effective occupation" of African territories would be the basis for European recognition of colonial claims. Although the mid-century drive had failed to extend her occupation of Angola, by 1891 Portugal had successfully used her diplomatic skill, her long alliance with Britain, and her international weakness itself to achieve European recognition of most of her grand claims.

European approval of a greatly expanded Portuguese Angola meant that despite its previous failures the *conquista* was now positioned to swallow up its independent neighbors. However, it still took another 30 years for Portugal to establish effective colonial military, economic and administrative control. Economic change and competition remained the major force structuring both intra-African and Portuguese-African relations in most of Angola until quite late in the 19th century, when the Portuguese again turned to military campaigns to achieve what financial and diplomatic efforts could not. These military campaigns and accompanying demands for forced labor and taxation threatened remaining African states not only with economic hardship, but loss of sovereignty as well.

The combination of the end of the international slave trade and the dramatic rise in production of ivory, rubber, and other commodities, the rise of the Chokwe at the expense of Lunda, and the expansionism of the Portuguese meant that all the communities of Angola future were under extraordinary pressures. Responses varied in accordance with local resources, degree of commercial development and political unity, as well as with access to information and proximity to the *conquista*.

Kongo, Mbundu, and Ovimbundu were the most immediately and directly affected by changing international economic and political conditions after 1850. In Kongo the Zombo continued their leading role in regional commerce, moving into ivory and rubber as these rose in demand. Coastal Kongo merchant-politicians became increasingly dependent

on large European firms, while inland more and more ordinary people turned to the production and sale of crops for export. The old kingdom enjoyed a period of prosperity and unity between 1841 and 1857 under Henrique II; however, his successor came increasingly under Portuguese influence. There was a Portuguese administrative post in Mbanza Kongo from 1888, but most Kongo did not come under Portuguese control until campaigns conducted in the wake of rebellions in 1913-15.

Independent Mbundu communities found themselves pressed, not only by an expansionist *conquista*, but also by Chokwe groups to their east. Expansionist campaigns in the 1850s led to the foundation of Malanje and temporary Portuguese control in Kasanje, but it was not until after 1894 that most of independent Mbundu was brought into the colony.

The Ovimbundu states initially prospered in the economic and political climate of the late 19th century. They expanded their existing trade networks, opened new roads, and increased agricultural production, employing imported slaves to do so. However, their success attracted settlers to their lands: Afro-Portuguese, European immigrants, and even Boers from the south. A series of wars and rebellions in the early 20th century finally led to the incorporation of the Central Highlands fully into colonial Angola.

The late-century military campaigns affected not only states, but individual, independent village communities as well, many of which also mobilized to counterattack, resist, rebel, or subvert. Between 1890 and 1922 no less than 90 military campaigns were launched either by or against the Portuguese. By the latter date almost all Angolans had at least been compelled to acknowledge their colonial status.

For urbanized, assimilated Africans and Afro-Portuguese, mid-century economic changes at first brought opportunities. However, by the early 20th century the new-style colonialism was creating hardship as metropolitan Portuguese were increasingly favored in both administrative and commercial sectors. One result of this was the emergence of early proto-nationalist movements among Portuguese-speakers in the

old *conquista*; in Luanda and other coastal cities; and among the tiny minority of Angolans who traveled to Portugal for education and began to form early nationalist-type organizations in Lisbon itself. In particular newspapers and cultural organizations emerged, a few of which went beyond pressing for *assimilado* rights, to attack forced labor, racial discrimination and other abuses, and begin to struggle with the meaning of an Angola rooted in Africa, rather than in Portugal.

*Modern Colonial Angola: National Liberation Movements:
1920-1975*

By about 1920, with modern colonial Angolan borders fully established, the Portuguese could concentrate on solidifying a colonial hierarchy based on the claimed superiority of Lusophone culture and enforced by the military and economic controls which now structured the lives of all Angolans, rural and urban. Portugal itself had become a Republic in 1910, and although its leaders brought modern reformist ideas to colonial policymaking, basic economic imperatives did not change much. For example, officially everyone was now eligible for first class citizenship through the assimilation process. In reality, however, 99 percent of Angolans faced the colonial servitude of forced labor under discriminatory laws as they struggled individually, or more commonly as communities, both to continue their historic ways of life and enjoy some of the benefits of modern ways as well.

Significant changes again came to Angola after the 1926 rise to power in Portugal of dictator António Salazar. Under his "New State" regime metropolitan controls over the colonies were tightened and early nationalist organizations abolished or forced to register as government-approved cultural societies. During this time, especially after World War II, the government also promoted the settlement of poor peasants from Portugal. These new immigrants were granted African lands and given many of the jobs that might otherwise have been taken by Africans.

Despite settlement schemes and crackdowns, overall economic development of the country was slow because Portugal, itself one of the poorest countries in Europe, did not have the resources to invest in the colonies. At the same time the xenophobic policies of the New State closed off the option of promoting foreign investment in Angola. Land expropriation, divide and rule tactics, forced labor and coerced cultivation formed the basis of the colonial economy. Thus Ovimbundu were forced into the labor market, only to find themselves in the coffee groves of Ndembu, where Kongo landowners were being forced out to make way for immigrants. Afro-Portuguese and *assimilados* of the old *conquista* had long since found themselves servants or second class citizens in the very structures their ancestors had helped to build.

Discontent became endemic in the countryside, where ordinary daily resistances periodically broke out in violence. However, despite formidable obstacles, Angolans continued to try and improve their situations through acceptable channels as well. Many turned to Christian missions to get access to modern schools, medical services, and information from outside. Foreign Protestants were especially important in this work of modernization, although they themselves, as suspected subversives, were barely tolerated by the authorities.

In the 1950s tensions rose as nationalist currents sweeping through Africa seeped into Angola, raising hopes and giving rise to the formation of modern nationalist movements. Portugal responded with more settlers and more crackdowns, remaining impervious to both international and internal pressures for change.

The year 1961 marked a major landmark in Angolan history. In that year Africans launched a major rebellion against the harassment and oppression of the colonial authorities. From then until 1974 more and more Angolans were drawn into an intensifying liberation struggle led by three often competing nationalist movements: MPLA, based in the Luanda region; FNLA, with its roots in Kongo; and UNITA, which increasingly appealed to an Ovimbundu constituency. These organizations set up offices outside the country, from which

they developed international support networks and aided refugees. From the mid-1960s each also launched guerrilla operations inside the country, especially in the north and east.

The Portuguese answered with further repression of nationalists and dispatched troops to Angola, as many as 60,000 by 1970. Only a few minor concessions were made, which did little to mollify nationalist sentiment. Portugal, however, did begin to promote development through abandoning the closed-investment policy and opening up the country to such multinational corporations as the U.S.-based Gulf Oil.

In April, 1974, a group of young left-wing army officers overthrew the authoritarian regime in Portugal. In Angola the guerrilla war was at a stalemate, with none of the competing movements able to claim decisive victory. Thus, when the Portuguese military campaign ended, the fighting in Angola intensified as rival liberation armies contested control of the country. The last 18 months of the colonial era were marked by a series of Portuguese-instigated negotiations and agreements which failed to resolve the crisis or stop the fighting, which became increasingly internationalized as each of the parties sought outside aid for themselves. On November 11, 1975, with the leadership question still unresolved, the Portuguese departed, having granted independence to "the people of Angola" without transferring power to any one of the competing nationalist movements.

The People's Republic of Angola

The rivalries of FNLA, MPLA, and UNITA were a prime factor in preventing a peaceful transition to independence in the period 1974-1976. But the pressures from international forces and their interest in Angola's strategic position in southern Africa both intensified the conflict and made possible the victory of MPLA. The withdrawal of American aid from FNLA in December, 1975, the discrediting of UNITA once it had solicited South African help, and the continuation of Soviet and Cuban aid to MPLA, coupled with the fact that MPLA was able to hold on to its traditional power

base in Luanda, all contributed to the victory of Agostinho Neto's party. The RPA under MPLA had been recognized by most African and European states by February 4, 1976.

From the March, 1976 end of the civil war or "Second War of Liberation," the MPLA government began the work of both implementing its Marxist-Leninist principles and building a new sense of Angolan national identity. Apart from grappling with new political and administrative structures, the RPA government had to rebuild a war-shattered economy which had been further weakened by the departure of most Portuguese skilled and semiskilled labor. It had to deal with factionalism within its ranks and contend with guerrilla actions sponsored by UNITA and its ally, South Africa. All this was while the government was trying to improve education, health, and transport; create mass political organs; and foster the growth of an authentic Angolan cultural expression.

At the time cancer claimed his life in 1979, Agostinho Neto could still have hoped for relatively smooth sailing in achieving these goals. However, by the early eighties, the country was again preoccupied by warfare which pitted UNITA against MPLA, and South Africa against Angola, in the context of Namibia's struggle for independence. In fact, the new decade was defined by the central government's continuing struggle against the two-pronged military challenge of a conventional war against South Africa and a guerrilla war against UNITA. The long, draining war, which came on the heels of the protracted war for independence, devastated Angolan agriculture and industry, crippled its infrastructure, diverted needed hard currency reserves and led to wholesale dislocation of tens of thousands of the nation's unfortunate peasantry.

Politically, the war prevented the government from any chance to implement its social and economic program under normal conditions. Efforts to institutionalize "people's power" in the form its theorists envisioned were stymied, and the leadership of the party, now called MPLA-PT, was deprived of the opportunity to draw new blood into its ranks despite President dos Santos's success in adding some more technically and less-ideologically oriented people. The ruling circles of

the MPLA remained ethnically Mbundu/Afro-Portuguese and retained a somewhat insular outlook on the nation's problems. The pressures of the war also led increasingly toward a centralized, presidentialist form of government.

The military success of UNITA in the 1980s did not lead to international acceptance, and within Angola itself there remained a profound distrust for its leader, Jonas Savimbi, particularly after allegations of human rights abuses within his own ranks were aired in 1989. In mid-1989 a historic meeting between dos Santos and Savimbi in Gbadolite, Zaire, led to hopes of a negotiated settlement to the civil war, but it was only after the dramatic emergence of democratic movements in Eastern Europe that real progress in settling the Angolan conflicts began to take place.

On the diplomatic front, Angolan foreign affairs during the 1980s were inextricably bound to international efforts to midwife the independence of Namibia. Throughout the 1970s, South Africa had insisted that it would allow the independence of Namibia only after the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. In 1981 the U.S. accepted this concept of "linkage" as the basis for negotiations. Despite initial rejection of this by Angola and Cuba, a long, tedious series of talks between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the U.S. began, which culminated in 1989 with both independence for Namibia and significant Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola.

With the regional situation more stabilized, the Angolan government intensified its drive to improve the economy and end the internal fighting with UNITA. In September, 1989 in response to the liberalization of the Angolan economy, the IMF and World Bank admitted Angola as a member. In December President dos Santos announced a peace plan that provided for UNITA members to participate in future elections as individuals.

The year 1990 was marked by major changes for Angola. Although the warfare continued in many parts of the countryside, the agreed-upon schedule for Cuban withdrawals continued and talks between the government and UNITA continued at various international sites. While a cease-fire was

still elusive by year's end, many domestic political and economic changes were in the offing. The MPLA-PT, in meetings culminating with the Third Party Congress in December, voted to turn itself from a Marxist-Leninist into a social democratic party, institute a multiparty system, and further liberalize the economy.

By early 1991 evidence was appearing to confirm that the mandated changes were getting underway. By the end of May the Portuguese-brokered peace talks had at last produced results--a cease-fire was holding, the last Cuban troops had departed Angola, the Peace Accord of 1991 had been signed by both dos Santos and Savimbi. In September Savimbi returned to Luanda to begin campaigning for the elections scheduled to be held in October of 1992.

THE DICTIONARY

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ABRANCHES, HENRIQUE (1932-). Born and raised in Portugal, Abranches moved to Angola in 1947. Between 1956 and 1959, he began his creative and intellectual work, publishing articles on African folklore and ethnography in cultural journals put out by the surviving remains of earlier nationalist organizations. At the same time he became involved in nationalist political work in the south of the country. His links with MPLA landed him in prison in 1961. In jail he wrote three manuscripts: *Diálogo* (scenes from traditional life), *Manual de Etnografia*, and *A Konkhava de Feti*. Escaping to Paris in 1962, he helped found the Centro de Estudos Angolanos (Angolan Students Center) for MPLA. In 1965 he published a *História de Angola* aimed at freedom fighters.

Abranches went back to Africa in the early 1970s, serving with FAPLA on the Cabinda front. Since independence he has held various positions in cultural administration. He has coordinated fieldwork for ethno-historical investigations, notably in Soyo, and has continued to publish essays which mark him as a major contributor to the effort to define a national culture. His recent works include *Feitiçismo*, *Sobre Culturas Regionais Angolanas*, and *Reflexões sobre Cultural Nacional*.

ADMINISTRATION. The Constitution of the RPA and a law of February, 1976, specified that administration is to be based on the concept of "people's power," meaning the effective participation of the masses in the government of the country. The system provided for a pyramid-shaped structure of popularly elected assemblies, with each level feeding into the one above. The electoral process was to start with meetings of local residents who were to elect Village (*povoação*) Committees in rural areas or Neighborhood (*bairro*) Committees in urban ones. These local committees then were to merge at the level of Commune (*comuna*) and Municipal (*município*) Committees. There were to be 18 Provincial (*provincia*) Assemblies of 55-85 deputies each, elected for three-year terms by all "loyal" citizens.

The 1976 legislation also set up a supreme legislative body called the National People's Assembly, with deputies to be elected for five-year terms by regional electoral colleges, again by vote of all "loyal" citizens over 18. Constitutionally, this was to be the supreme governing body of the country. Although elections for the first National People's Assembly were held in 1980, actual implementation of the administrative system, particularly of the Popular Assemblies, was hampered at all levels by security problems and economic difficulties.

For the first 15 years of national independence the government was very closely tied to MPLA and its successor, MPLA-PT, the only legal political party until 1991. Under the RPA Constitution and enabling legislation the President of the MPLA-PT was also the President of the Republic, as well as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, Chairman of the Political Bureau of MPLA-PT, and Chairman of the Council of Ministers. President dos Santos held the portfolio of Minister of State for Economic and Social Affairs as well. As President, dos Santos was also empowered to

act by Presidential Decree between sessions of the People's Assembly. The MPLA-PT Party Congress, Central Committee and Political Bureau acted as policy supervisors to the government, with the President exercising wide powers of appointment from ministers of state through provincial commissioners. The government is represented at the various administrative levels by a descending series of centrally appointed commissioners.

Under the terms of the Peace Accord of 1991 the Angolan administration began to face changes as the country began gearing up for multiparty elections in 1992 with the participation of both MPLA-PT and UNITA, as well as international observers. See also CONQUISTA; MODERN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION; MPLA-PT; PEACE ACCORD.

AFONSO I (1506-1543). Afonso I (Mbamba Nzika) was founder of the Christian kingdom in Kongo. As *Mwene Kongo* he effectively used Christianity and control over the Atlantic trade to strengthen the monarchy and expand the kingdom's tributaries and trading partners. To build a strong Church under royal control, he obtained Portuguese missionaries and technical personnel, and sent several of his younger relations for clerical education in Europe. One of these, Henrique, was appointed a Roman Catholic bishop.

Kongo-Portuguese relations soured in the 1520s over the unauthorized activities of slave traders, especially Afro-Portuguese from São Tomé who specialized in eluding both Portuguese and Kongo control. However, the opening of Mpumbu market on the Tio border in the north enabled the King to regain control of the slave trade, as well as the European imports and European advisors necessary to continue the expansion of monarchical control.

Afonso I became an important figure in the historical traditions of both Kongo and Portugal. The

Kongo Kingdom after Afonso was a Christian kingdom. Precedents set in his reign shaped bilateral relations between Kongo and Portugal well into the 20th century, even after Kongo became a part of modern Angola.

AFRO-PORTUGUESE. [Also Angolan Portuguese, creole, Euro-African, Luso-African, *mestiço*]. One of several terms used to designate Angolans of mixed African and Portuguese genetic and cultural heritage. Persons in this group make up about 2-3 percent of Angolans today. They are predominantly city-dwellers. Although their overall numbers are small, they play an important leadership role in arts and politics, particularly in MPLA.

Afro-Portuguese had a central role in the history of early colonial Angola, primarily as traders, administrative and army functionaries, and priests. They formed the bulk of the *assimilado* class in the late colonial period. Their modern descendants are generally referred to as *mestiço* or creole, and like their forebears are preponderantly Luso-Mbundu in background, often speaking both Portuguese and Western Mbundu. They became involved in modern-style nationalist protest in the 19th century in response to the losses they suffered with the advent of the modern colonial state. See also **EARLY NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES**; **MESTIÇO**; **SÃO TOMÉ**; **SLAVE TRADE**.

AGRICULTURE. Agriculture has been the economic basis for Angolan societies for more than a thousand years. Cultivation of crops for local consumption still occupies the majority of farmers. Commercial agriculture also has a long history in the region, however. See also **COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE**; **COTTON**; **COFFEE**; **ECONOMY**; **LEOPOLDIAN NEOLITHIC**; **SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE**.

AGRO-PASTORALISM. A term used in some contemporary studies to indicate the economy of peoples of southern Angola who cultivate some crops in the flood plains of the rivers, but who rely heavily on cattle for their sustenance. See also AMBO; HERERO; PASTORALISM.

ALMEIDA, ROBERTO ANTÓNIO VITÓR FRANCISCO DE. In 1976 de Almeida was appointed Deputy Minister for Foreign Relations. On January 8, 1978, he was promoted to Foreign Minister and held the Foreign Trade portfolio, and in 1979 he was switched to the Planning Ministry. From 1981 to 1982 he was the MPLA Central Committee's Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs. In 1983 de Almeida was appointed Secretary for Propaganda and Information, a position he still holds. The 1986 MPLA Second Congress raised de Almeida from a candidate member to a full Politburo member. He has taken a hard line against the clemency granted to exiles wishing to return to Angola, and is considered a leader of the party's unrepentantly Marxist faction.

ALVARO I (1568-1587). This Kongo king (Nimi Lukeni) used military assistance organized through the Afro-Portuguese community on São Tomé to re-establish the authority of the monarchy in the wake of the military threats associated with the Jaga-type invasions of 1568. He, and his successor, Alvaro II, Mpanzu Nimi (1587-1614), maintained a strong central government, but at the price of increasing dependence upon foreign traders and arms.

ALVES, NITO (1945-1977). Of Mbundu origin, Alves was an MPLA militant turned dissident. After being educated in Protestant schools, he became involved in nationalist activities while pursuing a career in the colonial department of finance. However, in 1966, already ha-

rassed by PIDE, he dropped out and joined the movement. From his beginnings as a rank and file member of the MPLA, he rose through the party ranks, becoming a regional commissar in 1973, a member of the Central Committee in 1974, and Minister of the Interior in the first independent government in 1975.

Alves, who had thus come up through the MPLA ranks, now became the hero of the Luanda masses and a focus for those who supported "people's power." An orator and a crowd-pleaser, he was seen as a spokesman against the *mestiço*, intellectual MPLA leadership, and his power increased as ordinary people became disillusioned with the food shortages and other hardships of the post-independence period.

In the fall of 1976 he lost his job as Minister of the Interior, and on May 21, 1977, he was charged with "factionalism" and expelled from the Central Committee of the MPLA. Accused of planning the abortive coup of May 27, 1977, he fled to Ndembu, where he was captured in July, 1977. According to several sources, Alves was executed by firing squad shortly after his arrest.

ALVOR AGREEMENT. This agreement was signed on January 15, 1975, between representatives of the Portuguese government, MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA in the Portuguese city of Alvor. It was designed to produce a framework for the transition to independence, including cooperation between the competing liberation movements.

While it did establish the date for independence and affirm the integrity of Angola, including Cabinda, the agreement did not succeed in providing for a lasting cease-fire, or a viable Transitional Government. Portugal suspended the agreement in August, 1975, after the outbreak of civil war between the liberation movements had made its provisions unworkable. See also **TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT**.

AMBAKISTAS. Name derived from the settlement at Mbaka [Ambaca], some 170 miles east of Luanda, which was founded by Afro-Portuguese traders in 1618, in the wake of the joint Portuguese-Imbangala campaigns which established the *conquista*. This and other inland trading centers gave the Afro-Portuguese community leverage in their ongoing rivalry with the Lisbon-oriented officials and merchants in Luanda, who died quickly in the interior. Better-adapted Afro-Portuguese prospered by supplying slaves and ivory to the coastal merchants in exchange for imported goods they distributed on credit in the interior through networks of their African kin and through control over military and fiscal posts in the *conquista*.

In the 17th and 18th centuries these frontier Afro-Portuguese traders developed into a community which spoke both kiMbundu and Portuguese, some with literacy in the latter. By the mid-19th century the name *ambakista* was in common use for this important branch of the Afro-Portuguese community. The Portuguese-influenced *ambakista* dialect of kiMbundu is still widely spoken among the eastern Mbundu.

AMBO. [Ovambo, Kwanyama]. People with a shared ethno-linguistic identity living on both sides of the lower Kunene River in Namibe province. Most Ambo and related Kwanyama live in Namibia. The slave-trade-driven expansion of the Atlantic zone that had linked most Angolans' ancestors by 1700 did not reach these southerners until the late 18th century. Their predominantly pastoral lifestyle made little use of slaves and their location put them out of reach for most raiders.

Historically no single political authority unified the whole area, but instead several small states emerged. In the second half of the 19th century Kwanyama rose to power, becoming one of the most powerful states in southern Angola. Its economy was based on iron ore, cattle, ivory and slave exports in

exchange for firearms. When the elephants ran out in the 1880s, Kwanyama turned to raiding up on the southern flanks of the Highlands.

After prolonged conflict, the Ambo were conquered by both Portuguese and German forces between 1900 and 1917. They became an economic backwater and migrant labor pool for the colonial economies. Since Angolan independence war has displaced many Ambo, forcing them into refugee status. See also KWANYAMA.

AMBOIM HIGHLANDS. See MALANJE PLATEAU.

AMBRIZ. A small coastal town in northwest Angola with a good harbor. Little-developed as a port in the 20th century, in the 18th and 19th centuries it was a busy entrepôt under the control of the often independent-acting Kongo provincial ruler of Mbamba.

During the early 18th century expansion of the Atlantic slave trade, Ambriz attracted a brisk international business from both inland and overseas merchants, to the point of threatening government revenues in the neighboring *conquista*. The Portuguese responded by building a fort there in 1790, but abandoned it the next year under pressure from the English. Ambriz was again occupied by the Portuguese in 1855 and incorporated permanently into the colony. It did not produce the revenues projected for it, but was used as a base from which to send military and mining expeditions into Kongo in the 1850s, and also as a naval station from which to keep watch on European competitors in the Zaire River region.

ANCIENT ANGOLA. Term used in this work to designate the period of Angolan history before the opening of the Atlantic Ocean to intercontinental trade in the late 15th century. SEE ARCHAEOLOGY, EARLY IRON

AGE; LATER IRON AGE; LEOPOLDIAN NEOLITHIC; PALEOLITHIC.

ANDRADE, JOAQUIM PINTO DE (1926-). He and his brother, Mário, were early supporters of MPLA. A priest as well as an activist, Andrade spent 14 years in prison and under house arrest in a monastery in Portugal. After his release in 1974, he returned to Angola to become involved with his brother in "Active Revolt," an oppositionist faction within the MPLA. In 1976 he was briefly detained by the Neto administration. Unlike his brother, who left Angola for an expatriate's life, Andrade has remained in Angola as a government critic.

ANDRADE, MÁRIO COELHO PINTO DE (1928-1990). A native of Golungo Alto, Mário de Andrade became one of the leading writer-intellectuals who helped found MPLA and establish its positive intellectual image in European literary circles during the 1960s and 1970s. After having completed secondary school in Luanda, Andrade studied in Lisbon and then in Paris, where he joined the growing African and Caribbean literary community.

A founder of the MPLA, Andrade was President from 1960 to 1962, served briefly as Secretary for Foreign Affairs and helped establish the Liberation Army of the MPLA. After clashing several times over the years with Neto, in 1974 he joined with his brother and other party intellectuals in forming "Active Revolt," a opposition group within the MPLA which was opposed to Neto's "presidentialist" leadership. After a brief arrest in 1976, he went into exile in Guinea-Bissau, where he served as Commissioner of Culture. He later divided his time between Mozambique and France, where he was researching a history of Angolan nationalism. He died on August 26, 1990, in London.

ANTICOLONIAL RESISTANCE. Wars of resistance to the Portuguese expansion of colonial Angola were widespread from the middle of the 19th century until almost 1930. Wherever and whenever the Portuguese tried to extend their control, particularly for taxation and labor conscription, local leaders mobilized resistance. The most intensive era of Portuguese-African warfare, from 1890 to 1926, coincided with the expansion of the modern colony of Angola into the borders negotiated by the Portuguese government in the context of the "Scramble" for Africa.

With the expansion of commodity exports and a continued internal slave trade, African states were able to provide expanded armies with imported guns. Thus the Portuguese were forced to launch major military campaigns to gain control of lands and revenues nominally granted them by European-only agreements.

Conflicts between settlers and Ovimbundu for control over the resource-rich Central Highlands began in 1890 and continued periodically until 1918, including the "Bailundu Revolt" of 1902-1904. The Ambo, Herero, and other agro-pastoralists of the interior south felt the violence of colonial armed expansionism from both Portuguese and German invaders. The Kunene frontier was consolidated between 1898 and 1901. Major campaigns were conducted against Kwanyama in 1914-1915.

Coastal Kongo communities felt military pressure as early as 1900, but the great majority of the people of the old kingdom were only conquered after the anti-forced-labor uprisings of 1913-1915. The people of Ndembu, in their mountainous strongholds, held out until 1919.

Kasanje felt the first blows of a major Portuguese push to the east in 1895, but did not lose its independence until 1911, following a series of campaigns against both it and its neighbors. The vast

Lunda and Chokwe territories of the east fell only after further warfare lasting until 1926.

Although there were few major uprisings after defeat of the Chokwe, the last independent Africans were conquered only with the crushing of Herero resistance in 1941. See also AMBO; HERERO; KASANJE; KISAMA; KONGO KINGDOM; KWANYAMA; MANDUME; MATAMBA; MBAILUNU; NYANEKA-NKHUMBI; OVIMBUNDU; VIYE.

ANTONIAN MOVEMENT. See BEATRICE.

ANTÓNIO I (1661-1665). Born Vita Nkanga, he was the last king of the old centralized Kongo kingdom. He tried to deal with Portuguese pressures and growing Soyo autonomy by strengthening the royal Christian establishment to shore up a weakening patronage system. However, his efforts were negated when he and many of his noble allies perished in a showdown with *conquistista* forces at the Battle of Mbwila in 1665. Following this disastrous defeat Kongo was plunged into civil wars, which ended only with the restoration of a largely figurehead monarch in 1709.

ANTÓNIO, MÁRIO (1934-). A Maquela do Zombo-born Afro-Portuguese poet and short-story writer. He attended school in Luanda and was one of the outstanding talents in a movement that tried to create an authentic Angolan literature in the period 1951-1962, when he published in the reviews *Mensagem* and *Cultura*. Since the mid-1960s he has lived in Portugal, where he works as an arts foundation administrator.

ARCHAEOLOGY. Very little is yet known about prehistoric populations of Angola. What is known has been largely inferred from archaeological research carried out in contiguous areas of Zaire and Zambia. This means that the more forested northern half of the country

tends to be included in Central Africa; while the eastern and southern savannahs are considered as a part of Southern Africa. The only systematic excavation of Angolan sites of ancient occupation has been in the northeast, where diamond mining has laid open layers of the earth. However, excavations in Zaire, along the Angola-Zaire border in the north, as well as recent digs around Luanda and Benguela, also have shed some light on very ancient populations.

No adequate archaeological survey of the whole country exists. However, archeological research has high priority as a part of the overall push to expand knowledge of ancient populations and cultures as a part of the quest to develop a strong national cultural identity. Archaeological research has recently been initiated, or is planned, for most of the country. It is being coordinated through the regional museums. Efforts are also receiving support through the recently founded Center for the Study of Bantu Civilizations (CICIBA) in Libreville, Gabon.

ARMED FORCES. The modern armies of Angola are a direct outgrowth of the national liberation struggle, 1961-1974. All three of the major nationalist movements organized, armed and trained their own forces beginning in the mid-sixties. It was these armies that contended for national leadership during the "Second War of Liberation," 1974-1976.

When MPLA succeeded in assuming control of the national government, it installed its military wing, FAPLA, as the national army. According to the Constitution, every Angolan citizen over 18 is to participate in the defense of the country. However, only males between 18 and 35 are subject to conscription. Women may volunteer.

An important adjunct to FAPLA is the People's Defense Organization (ODP), a militia that can be called out to maintain the peace internally and

to defend the territorial integrity of Angola. ODP members receive military, political, and ideological training and are organized on the basis of local cell, several cells uniting in a sector, sectors in zones, and zones in regions.

During the 1980s the Angolan military underwent an extensive modernization using its oil wealth to purchase the most advanced Soviet weaponry. After sustaining a humiliating defeat by the SADF in 1981, Angola set about creating black Africa's finest army, one that by 1988 numbered 91,500 ground troops in 70 brigades and had more than 550 tanks. An air force was created from scratch that by the decade's end could compete on nearly equal ground with that of South Africa. Containing 7,000 airmen and 150 combat aircraft, including 55 MiG-23 and MiG-21 fighters, the success of Angola pilots against their SADF counterparts played a great part in cooling the ardor of South African civilian leaders towards the war with Angola. Annual defense budgets of \$1 billion were common during the period and the U.S. State Department estimates that the USSR alone provided \$2 billion in materiel from 1983 to 1986.

Despite Angola's success in conventional warfare in recent years, it never found a military solution to the guerrilla war with UNITA, though FAPLA defeated the rebels handily when they were incautious enough as to fight set battles.

The 1991 peace accord provides for the eventual integration of FAPLA and UNITA forces in a single national army, but it is highly unlikely that a postwar Angola will be able to, or desire to, support a standing army as large as that would entail. The reintegration of civil war veterans to civilian life could prove to be one of Angola's most vexing postwar challenges. Nevertheless, in preparation for a multi-party future, FAPLA has begun to disengage itself from the MPLA. In January 1990, Politburo member

António dos Santos Franco "Ndalú" stepped aside as chief of staff. See also COLONIAL ARMIES; FORÇAS ARMADAS POPULAR PARA DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA; GUERRA PRETA; PEACE ACCORD.

ASSIMILADO. In colonial terminology this meant an African or Afro-Portuguese who could speak and write Portuguese, and who had adopted Portuguese cultural values. Although this originally was used informally to connote social status, it took on specific legal meaning as a result of colonial legislation in force between 1926 and 1961. In order to escape the disadvantages of *indígena* status and enjoy instead the privileges of Portuguese citizenship, "nonwhites," whether of African or Afro-Portuguese background, had to prove that they were culturally Portuguese.

In order to be recognized as an *assimilado*, a person had to be over 18, speak Portuguese fluently, show ability to support oneself and one's family, adopt Portuguese cultural values and be of good character. Although theoretically open to increasing numbers of Africans, the weakness of the education system and prejudices against those of Protestant training meant that very few people achieved this status.

By 1960 only about 80,000 were counted as *não-indígena*, or *assimilado*, compared with 4.5 million *indígenas*. After the rebellion of 1961 Portugal abandoned the distinction and extended, at least in theory, identical civil rights to all inhabitants of what were then called the Overseas Territories.

Although the status of *assimilado* ceased to exist almost a generation ago, persons who are their cultural descendants--those who speak Portuguese, have received formal, Western-style education, and are able to afford modern lifestyles--continue to dominate in all areas of the national leadership. See also INDÍGENA; MESTIÇO.

ASSIS, ANTONIO DE, JUNIOR (1878-1960). This *assimilado*, *mestiço* lawyer was an early nationalist leader associated with the Liga Angolana. He used his education to work his way up in the colonial civil service. His government position did not prevent his imprisonment in 1917 and 1921 on charges relating to his protest of African land alienation and forced labor in Kwanza North.

Although he had ceased being active in nationalist organizations by the 1930s, his literary work is now recognized as a pioneering effort in the construction of a truly Angolan national culture. His bibliography includes a two-volume history of African revolts, a famous novel, *O Segredo da Morta* (The Dead Woman's Secret), and a Kimbundu-Portuguese dictionary.

ATLANTIC ERA. A term used in this text to indicate the period in Angolan history from first Portuguese contact in 1483 to the end of Portuguese colonial control in 1975. It is further subdivided into the period of initial trade and conquest; the "*conquista*," or early colonial period; the early modern colonial era; and the modern colony. During the first two periods, which ended in about 1850, the Portuguese established themselves on the coast and along interior trade routes, operating out of the conquered *reinos* (kingdoms) of Angola and Benguela. By the mid-19th century communities all over what is now Angola had been drawn into the orbit of Atlantic Ocean trade and influences, which were based on the supply of Africans as slaves for American plantations. This period also saw the formation of Afro-Portuguese communities.

The modern colonial era began with the ending of the slave trade and increasing Portuguese involvement in the politics of the European scramble for Africa, which brought with it pressures to modernize relationships with overseas dependencies. Thus modern Angolan borders, administration, laws, economy,

institutions and the like were developed in this period under increasingly direct Portuguese rule. Modern anticolonial nationalist movements and popular culture also had their roots in this era.

ATLANTIC ZONE. This is a term adopted in recent scholarly works to designate that area of West Central Africa that was drawn into the global capitalist economy before the late 19th century European colonial occupation. Atlantic-oriented commerce initially spread inland through indigenous commercial networks, developed for regional African exchanges based on such products as cloth, copper, salt and fish. After 1500 it spread rapidly with the international slave trade and, after abolition, with the demand for tropical commodities such as rubber and palm oil. Early colonial Angola owed its existence to its role as middleman between inland and oceanic elements of this growing global system. See also **WEST CENTRAL AFRICA**.

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BAILUNDO. See **MBAILUNDU**.

BAIRRO. A Portuguese word meaning a section or quarter of a city. See also **COMISSÃO DO BAIRRO**.

BAIXA DE CASSANGE. See **KASANJE**.

BANKING. Modern banking in Angola traces its roots to the founding, in 1864, of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (National Overseas Bank) with a monopoly of colonial banking. It mainly served to provide capital for the colonial ventures of Lisbon shipping and mercantile interests. However, it did lend money to Angolan entrepreneurs, whose fairly high failure rate meant that the bank had become a major Angolan landowner by the turn of the century. In response to this the bank

organized a separate landholding company, the Companhia de Cazengo, in 1902, which became the major Angolan producer of coffee.

Portuguese investment in Angola was overshadowed by that of other foreigners, mainly the British and Belgians. Their money was invested through large companies which were required to have legal Portuguese identity and a majority of Portuguese directors. The most important of these were the Benguela Railway (British) and Diamang (Belgian).

Economic difficulties in the 1920s led the Banco Nacional Ultramarino to end its Angolan banking operations. These were turned over in 1930 to the state-owned Banco de Angola, which funneled increased public spending into the colony. The Banco Nacional Ultramarino continued, however, to be a major investor in the Angolan colonial sector.

The Banco Comercial de Angola was set up in 1957, with the Belgian Banque de Bruxelles as a 50-percent shareholder. This new bank quickly acquired a stake in a wide variety of enterprises which thrived on the post-war boom in coffee prices.

Angola's banking system was nationalized in 1976 on the first anniversary of the MPLA revolution. The former central bank was reorganized and renamed the Banco Nacional de Angola. Angola currently has two commercial banks: the Luanda-based Banco de Credit Commercial e Industrial and the Banco Popular de Angola, which has branches in cities throughout the country. As of 1988, only one foreign bank, Banque Paribas, had an office in Angola, but a series of economic reforms relaxing banking and foreign investment regulations begun in 1989 is expected to create a more diverse investment community. On September 19, 1989, Angola was admitted into the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It is also a signatory to Lome IV, which establishes the terms for participa-

tion of African states in the greater European Economic Community.

Despite recent reforms, Angola's economy is still crippled by the effects of the long civil war, and Angolan banking has not escaped these effects. Major smuggling problems and a thriving black market in currency have severely hampered the central bank's efforts to cut inflation and stabilize the foreign exchange rate of the *kwanza*. See also ECONOMY.

BANTU DIASPORA. Understanding the history of the spread of Bantu languages is one of the most central and problematic issues in all of African studies. The subject primarily occupies archaeologists and linguists, but is also of interest to historians and anthropologists.

Recent archaeology-based syntheses suggest that the earliest yam cultivators may have been settling in Kongo country (northern Angola) more than 2,000 years ago. Linguistic evidence suggests these early farmers either brought with them or adopted languages related to Western (Equatorial) Bantu which had originated, along with forest-oriented neolithic technologies, in the Cameroons.

Subsequent expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples in Angola is linked to the merger of these southward-moving neolithic groups with early iron-using Bantu-speaking pioneers moving west and south from the area of modern-day Uganda. This merger of traditions in the fertile highlands of Angola gave rise to a new tradition associated linguistically with both Western and Eastern Bantu. Some scholars have labeled the resulting synthesis Western Highland Bantu, which is said to have spread throughout most of Angola and into Zaire, Zambia, Botswana, and Namibia between the 2nd and 6th centuries of our era (AD). See also EARLY IRON AGE; LEOPOLDIAN NEOLITHIC; WESTERN HIGHLAND BANTU.

BEATRICE (KIMPA VITA) (c.1682-1706). A young aristocratic Kongo woman, Beatrice claimed to have died and been resurrected as Saint Anthony of Padua, whose cult had become popular in Kongo after its introduction a half century before. She preached a specifically Kongo Christianity, claiming that Christ was born and baptized in the country, and that Mary was African. After more than three decades of civil strife in the kingdom, her fervent advocacy of restoration of the monarchy and a national church attracted many followers. These Antonians, as they were called, fanned out into the countryside to preach the new gospel. At her headquarters in the abandoned royal capital the prophetess performed miracles and raised hopes for a new, peaceful civil and religious order.

The Antonian movement attracted a wide following in the kingdom. However, it also attracted opposition from the Capuchin Fathers who held important posts in the Catholic church in Kongo, and from those claimants to the throne who did not receive her support. Ironically, it was the establishment of a coalition between noble houses holding to orthodox Catholicism which succeeded, in 1706, both in restoring the throne and in having Beatrice tried and burned at the stake for heresy. See also KONGO KINGDOM.

BENGO. River and province, encompassing the greater Luanda area. The Bengo River, located just north of Luanda, has historically served as the main water supply for the city. Plantations in this region also supply food to urban dwellers, as they have since the 16th century. Bengo Province has been recently separated administratively from Luanda, to accommodate population growth in the capital region.

BENGUELA. Town and province. Named for a neighboring African state, the settlement called Benguela was estab-

lished as a slave market by Afro-Portuguese from the Luanda area in 1617. This breakaway was part of a diaspora born of conflict between local businessmen and rival Lisbon merchants and officials. Initially, access to the interior was difficult because of the high peaks of the Benguela Highlands and opposition from African neighbors, such as Kakonda.

Benguela had a strong Brazilian connection from 1648 until the early 19th century, when Brazil won its independence from Portugal. It was only in the later 18th century, in the wake of Portuguese military strikes in the Highlands and French competition on the south coast, that Ovimbundu traders and Portuguese agents (*pombeiros* and *sertanejos*) opened up direct trade routes from Benguela across the interior plateau. As a result Benguela grew into a major slave trade entrepôt, dispatching ships directly, or via Luanda, to Brazil.

At times during this period Benguela was quite isolated from Luanda, even in conflict with it. During the early colonial era Benguela had its own governor, technically a subordinate of the governor-general in Luanda, but in reality often linked to local interests which were in competition with those at the capital.

Benguela is the fourth-largest city of Angola and, with Lobito, 20 miles to the north, part of the most important urban complex in the country outside of Luanda. It is the administrative capital of the province.

BENGUELA HIGHLANDS. This term is used more or less interchangeably with Central Highlands or Bié Plateau. See CENTRAL HIGHLANDS.

BENGUELA RAILWAY (Companhia do Caminho de Ferro de Benguela). This rail line runs from Lobito on the Atlantic coast to the Zaire frontier at Dilolo. It connects there with Zairean and later Zambian rail sys-

tems to form part of a transcontinental transport network. Construction began in 1903, but the line only reached the Katanga copper mines in 1929. Although publicly controlled by an Anglo-Portuguese consortium, like many capital-intensive projects of the early modern colonial era, it was financed by British interests. In this case the investment vehicle was Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., a major force in the development of copper mining in both Zaire and Zambia.

In Angola the railroad serves agricultural and commercial communities of the central plateau. Service was interrupted periodically by sabotage during the war of liberation. A victim of its strategic importance, the Benguela railway has been a major target of UNITA rebels and has only operated along small segments since Angolan independence. A major focus of SADCC efforts to break the region's dependence on South African transportation networks, there have been many plans to rebuild it to its former status, but experience indicates that this will have to await the postwar reconstruction period.

BIÉ. Kingdom. See VIYE.

BIÉ. Town and province. Originally called Silva Porto after a famous *sertanejo*, by the mid-19th century this town was an important center for Ovimbundu, Afro-Portuguese, and Portuguese traders on the route from Benguela to the interior. Situated on the eastern side of the Central Highlands, today Bié is on the Benguela railway. It is the administrative capital of the province and an agricultural and commercial center.

BIÉ PLATEAU. See CENTRAL HIGHLANDS.

BOAVIDA, AMERICO "NGOLA KIMBANDA" (1923-1968). This nationalist physician was one of the first Angolans to graduate from the elite Liceu Salvador Correa in

Luanda. He studied medicine in Europe, then practiced in Angola from 1955 until 1960 when he joined MPLA and became director of the newly established medical service for refugees in Kinshasa (Leopoldville). Soon he became involved in providing medical services and training to the liberation armies inside Angola. In 1968 he was killed in a Portuguese helicopter attack on an MPLA camp in Móxico, where he was training guerrilla fighters as medical technicians.

Boavida published a critique of Portuguese colonialism from a Marxist perspective, which has been translated into English as *Five Centuries of Portuguese Exploitation*.

BOERS. [Afrikaners, Trekkers]. Dutch-African-ancestry whites who fled British rule in South Africa in a series of 19th-century *treks* (migrations). With the encouragement of Portuguese authorities, several contingents arrived in Angola during the period 1879-1905. By 1905 there were about 1,500 living in the colony, mainly in the hinterland of Namibe and Benguela. Introducing ox wagons into the area, they displaced the established porter system, revolutionizing area transport until they themselves were ruined by railways and trucking. This, coupled with the fact that they did not want to become *assimilados*, led to a mass exodus and resettlement of 2,000 Boers into Namibia in 1928.

BRAZIL. From the 1570s the development of sugar plantations in Brazil paralleled and was strongly linked to the development of the Portuguese colony of Angola, which supplied necessary labor to those plantations. Brazilian commercial interests were central to the incorporation of Angola into the South Atlantic system of commerce based on the triad of slaves, sugar, and rum. It was a fleet from Brazil which liberated Angola from the Dutch in 1648. From this time on Brazilian interests dominated in Benguela and were impor-

tant in Luanda as well. Brazilian commercial capital increasingly took a leading role in the slave trade from Luanda after 1730. This contributed significantly to the commercialization of the slave-trading economy of Angola, creating ever longer lines of economic dependency from the coast into the heart of West Central Africa.

In recent times, trade links between the two Lusophone nations have continued. Cultural ties are also strong. Despite some support for the FNLA by Brazilian nationals during the civil war of 1974-75, Brazil was among the first governments to recognize the MPLA government in November, 1975. Since then relations between the two countries have been very cordial.

Brazil's foreign minister visited Angola during June of 1980, seeking to increase trade links between the two nations. In early 1981 Brazil strongly advised the U.S. government against aiding UNITA. In November of that year, Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge visited Brazil and secured \$260 million in Brazilian credit. Also in 1981 the Brazilian airline, Varig, began direct flights between the two nations. Brazil raised its line of credit to \$410 million in 1983.

By the end of the 1980s Brazil was considered to be one of Angola's biggest trading partners, exporting food, rail cars and heavy machinery. President dos Santos continued the tradition of cooperation into the 1990s, when he attended the inauguration of the new Brazilian president, Fernando Collor de Mello, and used the occasion to conduct talks with the Portuguese head of state, Mário Soares, as well.

BUTA, TULANTE ALVARO. Leader of the Kongo rebellion of 1913-1915 against Portuguese demands for forced labor, although the Kongo king was seen as complicit in this. As of 1913, although there had been an administrative post at Mbanza Kongo since 1888, Kongo

had only been marginally incorporated into Angola. In that year labor contractors trying to fill quotas for São Tomé and Cabinda plantations began to use violent recruiting methods with the acquiescence of local authorities.

Buta, a regional chief, responded by insisting that the king convoke a council of chiefs to hear grievances, and ultimately to drive out the foreigners. Not only the king, dissident chiefs, and Portuguese residents were involved, but also Baptist and Catholic missionaries posted in the capital. When negotiations proved unsatisfactory, the Buta forces took up arms.

Rebellion spread throughout most of Kongo, requiring a series of military campaigns to completely quell it. Buta was betrayed into Portuguese hands and exiled.

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CABINDA. Port and province. The port of Cabinda, situated about 30 miles north of the Zaire River, was a major entrepôt in the slave trade of West Central Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries. The port belonged to the kingdom of Ngoyo, an independent Kongo state with ties to Mbanza Kongo. The kings of Ngoyo were among the earliest to lose effective power to nouveau riche merchant princes, as the Atlantic slave trade boomed in the 18th century.

In the 19th century Cabindan merchants pioneered in opening up the commodity trade on the Zaire River. Cabindans also served in large numbers as skilled sailors in ships plying Atlantic coastal waters.

The earliest European exporters doing business in Cabinda were Afro-Portuguese from São Tomé. Despite sporadic Portuguese attempts to take it over, export business there was dominated by foreigners throughout the whole slave-trade era. Even after abolition the Portuguese continued to be thwarted in their

efforts at controlling this lucrative commercial outlet. In 1885, however, as a result of the complex machinations during the European "scramble" for Africa, Portugal did manage to secure title to the small enclave of land since known as Cabinda.

Although Cabinda was specifically included within Angola by the terms of the Alvor Agreement in 1975, the status of the enclave was contested by the secessionist group FLEC until the late 1980s, when the government in Luanda was able to definitively regain control.

Although a good anchorage, Cabinda's harbor facilities were little developed in the late colonial period. Its main asset was its status as a free port. However, since the offshore oil boom, Cabinda has become second to none in importance for the Angolan economy. See also FLEC; NGOYO; OIL.

CACIMBO. A term which refers to the dry season, which lasts from May to September in the central and northern parts of the country. The name derives from the heavy morning mist during this time of the year.

CACONDA. The original fortress of Caconda was founded in 1682 or 1684 on the borders of Kakonda, an Ovimbundu kingdom on the western edge of the Central Highlands, as an outpost of the Benguela commercial sphere. Although a small garrison was maintained there, the fort had virtually no impact on the kingdoms of the Highlands until after 1764, when it was relocated further east near the Wambu border. There it could better serve the Afro-Portuguese merchants who were then beginning to move in force into the Highlands.

CAFÉ, MARIA MAMBO. An economist and member of the Central Committee since before 1977, Café is the most prominent woman in MPLA. In 1985 she became an alternate on the Politburo and was named Secretary of

the Central Committee for the Economic, Social and Productive Sphere. In 1986, she became one of the three Central Committee "super ministers," becoming Minister of State for the Economic and Social Sphere. During 1987 she lost a power struggle with another super minister, Pedro Van-Dunem. She was removed from both her positions and was named Youth Affairs Secretary. In late 1990 Café barely escaped being ousted from her Central Committee position by the MPLA rank and file. She is considered a rigid Marxist-Leninist.

CAMBAMBE. Cambambe Falls marks the head of navigation on the Kwanza River. Early Portuguese conquistadors advanced on this area in pursuit of silver mines. When the mines proved nonexistent in 1604, the invaders built a fort to secure their salient into Mbundu country. The *presídio* of Cambambe became a key point in the development of the *conquista*.

The riches of the falls themselves are the focus of late-20th-century interest in Cambambe. The first phase of the Cambambe Dam was completed in 1963. It provides hydroelectric power for the Luanda area.

CÃO, DIOGO (-c.1486). The Portuguese navigator who in 1483 led the first European expedition to reach the mouth of the Zaire River, thus inaugurating the Atlantic era in Angolan history. He initiated diplomatic and trading relations with Kongo by an exchange of elite hostages, as was customary at the time. On his second voyage (1485-86) he visited the *Mwene Kongo* Nzinga Nkuwu in his capital, Mbanza Kongo, and then sailed south as far as modern Namibia, where he probably died.

CAPITÃO-MOR. This Portuguese term, literally captain-major, referred to a military officer appointed to rule over an area of the *conquista* hinterland in the early

colonial period. These officers were generally men of locally prominent Afro-Portuguese families. They were often virtually independent of Luanda in their dealings with local people, with whom they usually had strong family, political, and economic connections.

CARNAVAL DA VITÓRIA. Originally the festival of the day before Lent in Catholic countries and known variously as carnival [lit. farewell to flesh] or mardi gras [lit. fat Tuesday]. This civic festival began in Luanda in the 1620s. Although the celebration continues, the national government since independence has sought to identify it with patriotic rather than religious celebration. Thus since 1978 the carnival date has been fixed as March 27th, and the celebration rededicated to the memory of the first time the armed forces of Angola carnavaldrove South African forces out of the country, on March 27, 1976.

There continue to be floats, parades, and general merry-making. Work for the festivities is done by private associations. Carnival celebrations are held in all the big cities, receiving ample coverage in the press.

CARREIRA, HENRIQUE TELES "IKO" (1933-). This prominent early MPLA cadre is a Luanda-born *mestiço* who is related to the prominent Andrade brothers. He became important in MPLA at the conference held in Leopoldville in 1962. As an officer in FAPLA, his successes in Cabinda led to his appointment as commander of the important eastern region. In 1970 he was appointed to MPLA's five-member Political and Military Coordinating Committee, and in 1974 became a member of the Politburo and Central Committee. In 1975 he helped negotiate Cuban aid and was appointed Minister of Defense. Carreira is one of the veterans of the MPLA who has fallen out of favor in the dos Santos era. In September, 1979 he resigned from the

Politburo to study abroad at the Moscow Military Academy, but he retained his Central Committee seat. In February, 1980 he was removed as Defense Minister. While commander of the Angolan air force in the early 1980s, he built his service into one of Africa's finest.

The Second MPLA Congress in December, 1985 dropped him to Central Committee alternate. In 1986 he was replaced as Air Force Commander and posted as Ambassador to Algeria. His fall from power may have been in part related to the involvement of members of his family in a 1982 diamond smuggling and corruption scandal.

At the 1990 Third MPLA Congress Carreira was dropped from the Central Committee at his own request for health reasons, and was reported to be abroad undergoing medical treatment.

CARVALHO, AGOSTINHO MENDES DE. A writer and veteran of the war of independence, de Carvalho was the MPLA's Minister of Health from 1981 to 1983. One of the most heavily ridiculed of the "Afro-Nationalists" in the 1982 play by Costa de Andrade Ndunduma, he was dropped from the Health Ministry and Council of Ministers in 1983. After refusing the post of ambassador to Laos, de Carvalho became ambassador first to East Germany, then to Poland, where he is still posted. He was dropped from the Central Committee in 1990.

CATHOLIC CHURCH. See **ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF ANGOLA.**

CATHOLIC MISSIONS. Roman Catholic missionaries and missions played a significant role in the history of Angola, today a country with a majority of professing Christians. The first Christian converts were Kongo taken to Lisbon about 1488. Mission work in the

Kongo kingdom began in 1491, with the arrival of seculars from the Canons of St. John the Evangelist. During the reign of Afonso I in Kongo the Catholic church became established there, its work initially coming under the control of the Diocese of Funchal in Madeira (1514). Subsequently the church in what is now Angola came under dioceses located in São Tomé (1534), São Salvador, Kongo (1596), and Luanda (1669). However, the Angolan church never had the resources to do much missionary work on its own, and so had to rely on the services of missionary orders for most of the effort of converting traditional religionists to Christianity.

Missionary orders began work in 1548, with the arrival of Jesuits in Kongo. They were engaged for over 200 years in Kongo and around Luanda, both in evangelism and in the service of the established church. They were confessors to Kongo and Mbundu kings, supporters of the Afro-Portuguese, and among the earliest plantation owners in the *conquista*. The Jesuits were suppressed during the 18th-century ascendancy of the Marques do Pombal in Portugal.

Many other Catholic orders have worked and still serve in Angola. Between the late 17th and late 19th centuries, most missionaries came to serve the already Catholic populations in the *conquista* or Kongo. Among these were the Franciscans and Discalced Carmelites, who first came in 1575, beginning work that continues to this day. The Capuchins, mostly Italian, arrived in Soyo in 1645. They were the most important missionary order and presence, particularly in Kongo, until they were forced out of the colony in 1834. Brothers Minor came from Portugal in 1777 to replace the Jesuits, and French seculars began work in Cabinda a few years earlier.

A century passed before another major order made its entry into the future Angola, this time with specifically evangelistic goals. The French Holy Ghost

Fathers arrived in 1873 to replace the Capuchins. Despite Portuguese governmental suspicions of their French nationality, the Holy Ghost Fathers, or Spiritans, were very successful in Cabinda and from Ovimbundu south, with Huíla as their strongest center.

Following an intense anticlerical period under the Portuguese Republic, which led to the suppression of all Roman Catholic missionary orders in Angola from 1911 to 1919, a new era of diversity in missions dawned. Between 1922 and 1930, three new orders arrived: the Fathers of Mary of Montfort, the Consolationist Fathers, and the Alsatians. In 1940, a concordat between the Vatican and the Salazar regime resulted in increased support and privileges for Catholic missions. Groups such as the Capuchins and Jesuits returned, and, in exchange, all missionary orders in the colony were ecclesiastically subordinated to the Church of Angola. Despite these arrangements, however, during the wars for independence many groups, especially the Spiritans and the White Fathers (headquartered in Zaire), were distrusted and consequently restricted by Portuguese colonial and military authorities on the grounds of suspected sympathies with the nationalists.

As of 1980 increasingly indigenized orders continued to be an important ingredient in rapid Catholic growth in the country. See also MISSIONARIES; PROTESTANT MISSIONS; ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF ANGOLA.

CENTRAL AFRICA. A general, regional term used in a variety of information sources. It is the least stable of the regional terms applied to Africa. This is of interest to historians of Angola because "central Africa" may or may not include the country. In particular, since the organization of the Front Line States and SADCC, Angola has increasingly been designated as part of "southern Africa."

CENTRAL HIGHLANDS. The most commonly used name for the large central plateau region of Angola, with its fertile, subtropical uplands and dramatic western mountains. This area is the Ovimbundu homeland, and is the most densely populated area outside the Luanda region. See also OVIMBUNDU.

CHATELAIN, HELI (1859-1908). An early American Methodist missionary of Swiss background, Chatelain is an important figure in the development of an African cultural focus for Angola. He was a strong advocate of African values and independence. He published his *Kimbundu Grammar* in 1889 and his even more influential *Folktales of Angola* in 1894. With support from Swiss and Swedish mission groups, he founded an antislavery, anti-forced-labor movement called the Philafrican Settlement Mission at Kalukembe (then called Lincoln) in 1897. Although he died in 1908, ill and exhausted, his Mbundu literary efforts influenced the generation of early Angola nationalists who were looking for alternatives to the accepted *assimilado* intellectual position.

CHEFE DE POSTE. See MODERN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION.

CHILINGUTILA, DEMOSTENES AMOS (1948-). Of Ovimbundu background, Chilingutula rose to staff sergeant in the colonial army, the highest rank an African could occupy. An artillery specialist, he joined UNITA after the Portuguese revolution in 1974 and was appointed Chief of Staff of the movement's army in April, 1980. He was promoted to brigadier general in 1982. In 1984 he was replaced as Chief of Staff and assigned as Commander of Military Operations. In 1986 he retook the post of Chief of Staff when Alberto Vinama "Chendova" was killed. Once considered to be close to Savimbi, the two developed

disagreements over strategy in 1988. In late 1989 Chilingutilla was replaced as Chief of Staff and in early 1990 he reportedly disappeared into Botswana, taking more than a hundred loyal troops with him.

CHINGUNJI, TITO (1955-). Born in Chissamba Mission in 1955, Chingunji joined UNITA in 1967. After guerilla training in Moxico province from 1976 to 1978, he was appointed UNITA Representative in North Africa. In 1980 he became Assistant to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and represented UNITA in Britain. In 1986 Chingunji was UNITA Secretary for Foreign Affairs. As UNITA's representative to the U.S., he played an important role in garnering U.S. aid and setting up Savimbi's trips to the U.S. However, in November, 1988 he was recalled to Jamba. Friends reported that he was under house arrest and may have been tortured--possibly because of unauthorized ties to the MPLA.

CHIPENDA, DANIEL JULIO (1931-). Born in central Angola of Ovimbundu parents, Chipenda joined MPLA in the 1950s. His father, Rev. Jesse Chipenda, was the first General-Secretary of the Church Council of Central Angola. He was arrested in 1968 and died in prison the following year.

Daniel Chipenda was an important early MPLA member, and its leading Ovimbundu, who had a considerable personal following in the Lobito-Benguela area. In the 1960s he headed the MPLA's youth wing and was the member of the movement's steering committee responsible for information and publicity. In 1970 he was appointed to the five-member Political and Military Coordinating Committee, and became a top commander on the eastern front.

In 1973 Chipenda split with Neto during the "Eastern Revolt," taking with him a personal following of some 2,000 troops and seriously weakening

MPLA's ranks. In October, 1974 he was expelled from the party and in 1975 formed a loose alliance with Holden Roberto, who made him Secretary-General of the FNLA. Chipenda's Ovimbundu following and the troops he brought with him were an important addition to FNLA's ranks. Chipenda's forces fought the South Africans on the southern front in the 1975-76 war, but his army disintegrated following defeats by MPLA and Cuban forces in January, 1976, and he fled the country.

Soon after Zaire expelled FNLA forces from its territory in 1978, Chipenda went to Lisbon; most of his faction returned to the MPLA fold under an amnesty offer by Neto. In late 1986 Chipenda made peace with MPLA and, upon his return to Angola, said he would urge the 200,000 Angolan exiles to return as well. As of April, 1991, he was Angolan ambassador to Egypt.

CHITUNDA, JEREMIAS (1941-). Of Ovimbundu heritage, he was born in Chimbuelengue in Bié Province and received his primary and secondary education at Nova Lisboa. In 1964 he went to the University of Arizona and completed a B.S. in mining engineering. After working as a chief engineer of the Hecla Mining Co. in Arizona, he returned to Angola in 1975 to become Minister of Natural Resources of the Transitional Government as a UNITA representative.

After MPLA took power, Chitunda became Foreign Minister of UNITA. He spent most of 1986 in the U.S. lobbying for the rebel cause, and then returned to Africa to be elected the first UNITA Vice President.

In 1990 Chitunda took charge of the UNITA negotiating team in Lisbon and, after a year of tough bargaining, signed a peace accord with the MPLA in May 1991.

CHIWALE, SAMUEL (c.1944-). An Ovimbundu born in Huambo, Chiwale received military training in China in 1965. A founder of UNITA, in the late 1960s Chiwale was commander of a 1,000-man FALA unit believed to be the rebel group's strongest. Appointed to the post of General Commander of FALA in 1968 by Savimbi, he was confirmed by the Second UNITA Congress, which also named him to the Politburo. In April, 1980 he was replaced as Chief of Staff.

CHOKWE. [Cokwe, Tschokwe, Quioco]. People whose homeland is in the region between the Upper Kwango and Upper Kasai rivers in the east central Angolan provinces of Lunda South and Moxico. Original settlement may have been by refugees from drought and early slaving wars in the 17th century. Although politically decentralized, communities in this somewhat remote region developed an economy based on hunting and trading, especially with the growing Lunda empire.

When commodity exports began to replace the slave trade in the middle of the 19th century, the Chokwe were well placed to expand at the expense of a weakening Lunda empire. Bands of mobile Chokwe collected rubber and wax, hunted elephants, and traded these for now abundantly available slave women. This proved an explosive expansionist strategy for the times.

By the 1880s and 1890s Chokwe bands were operating throughout much of the old Lunda empire, including the capital itself. On the Angolan side, they became key players in late-19th-century commercial development. By 1890 they had absorbed most of the population from the Kwango to the Kubango and Kunene Rivers through marriage and conquest. Their colonization of Lunda led to the development of such commonalities that Chokwe in Angola are now usually classified with Lunda as a single group. However,

there are still some enclaves of people who remain only Chokwe-identified. See also LUNDA.

CIVIL WARS. Civil war--that is, warfare taking place within Angola between various domestically based groups each trying to gain control of the government--has been a fact of life for at least some Angolans almost continuously since the first era of national liberation struggles. Three distinct phases can be identified: 1) 1961-1974, the period of liberation struggle against the Portuguese and also between the liberation movements, which ended with the Portuguese declaration of Angola's right to independence in April, 1974; 2) 1974-1976, the first civil war since independence (officially called the "second war of national liberation"), a continuation of the struggle between competing liberation armies, which ended in victory for MPLA; and 3) 1981-1991, the guerrilla war waged inside the country by UNITA against the MPLA-PT government, and conducted in conjunction with the South African war against Angola (1981-1989), which ended with the May 1991 Lisbon Peace Accord. See also FORÇAS ARMADAS POPULARES DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA (FAPLA); NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES; PEACE ACCORD; SOUTH AFRICAN WAR; UNITA.

CIVILISADO. A term, literally meaning "civilized," used in the early colonial period to refer to those Africans who had adopted Portuguese religion and lifestyle. It was later replaced generally by the term *assimilado*.

COFFEE. Coffee is Angola's main cash crop, although war, labor shortages, drought and poor management have reduced its production to a fraction of its pre-independence level. The main coffee-producing provinces are Uíge, Zaire, Luanda, Kwanza North and Kwanza South.

Coffee production began in this area during the 1830s on large plantations owned by wealthy Portuguese and worked by slave labor. After abolition, slaves were replaced by *contratados*, often from Ovimbundu. Later, smaller Portuguese farms appeared which employed local Kongo labor--often people displaced from their own farms by the immigrants. For most of the colonial period coffee was Angola's major export. In 1974 Angola was the second largest producer of *robusta* coffee in Africa and the fourth largest in the world, with an annual production of 200,000 metric tons.

After independence, the continuing civil war, the departure of Portuguese farmers and expertise, and a labor shortage all contributed to a dramatic decline in Angolan coffee production. The coffee plantations abandoned by the *retornados*--many of which had been damaged in fighting between MPLA and FNLA during the 1974-75 civil war--were nationalized. Because the Ovimbundu, who formerly made up the bulk of the work force, were reluctant to return to the north, the government tried to recruit volunteer brigades to harvest the coffee crop, but this proved ineffective because of the demand for labor elsewhere. UNITA attacks on the nation's transportation network have also taken their toll.

By 1985, only 20,000 tons were produced. By then coffee production had been organized into groups of cooperative farms, large state-owned plantations, and privately run farms owned by Portuguese who elected to remain in Angola after independence. The government is now training Angolans to replace the departed Portuguese experts.

In 1983 the government created Empresa de Benefício e Exportação do Café de Angola (CAFANGOL) to manage the coffee-processing industry and organize coffee trading. In 1987 a state secretariat charged with reorganizing the coffee sector was

formed. A plan to sell over 100 state-owned coffee farms to private buyers was announced in 1990 as part of an effort to revive coffee production.

In August 1991 Angola's coffee ministry announced plans to privatize its 30 largest coffee plantations through sales open to foreign and domestic buyers.

COLONATOS. These were planned rural settlements which were supposed to attract European farmers to central Angola. Despite thousands of acres set aside and millions of dollars worth of incentives, few of these settlements amounted to much. See MODERN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION; SETTLERS.

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION. The colonial history of Angola divides basically into two periods: the *conquista*, or early colonial period, which began with the establishment of direct Portuguese rule in Luanda in 1589 and never extended much beyond a few Atlantic port towns and a string of forts which followed the Kwanza River into the interior; and the modern colonial period, which began with the expansion of Portuguese control over the modern territory of Angola in the 1850s but wasn't completed until after First World War.

Twentieth-century colonial administrative history can be further subdivided around three important turning points. The first came with the end of the Portuguese monarchy and subsequent republican reorganization of the empire along more modern lines beginning in 1910. The second was identified with the rise of the New State (Estado Novo) under the dictator Antonio Salazar beginning around 1930. A third phase began as the Portuguese response to the outbreak of anticolonial rebellions in 1961. See also CONQUISTA; MODERN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION.

COLONIAL ARMIES. Until well into the 20th century, the Angolan colonial army was based on a two-tier system which was first developed in the course of the campaigns which carved out the *conquista*. The first tier or "first line" troops were recruited in Portugal or from among Afro-Portuguese in the cities. These regular troops ordinarily numbered no more than 2,000. For major campaigns, such as those of the late 18th, mid- and late 19th, and early 20th centuries, they were reinforced by expeditionary forces from Portugal.

The bulk of the colonial army was made up of "second line" troops, or *guerra preta*, historically raised by *sobas* in the *conquista* or directly by the colonial government. The former were typically raised for specific campaigns, and tended to fall away if the fighting became too prolonged or was unsuccessful. Those recruited directly by Luanda were more permanently organized, given uniforms, and paid wages.

Under the New State the *guerra preta* was incorporated into "native companies" with Portuguese sergeants and officers. After 1961, and throughout the period of nationalist insurgency, there was a massive build-up of the army in Angola. In 1961 the armed forces numbered about 9,000, of which about 2,000-3,000 were European. By 1966 the army numbered about 50,000; and by 1973-74 the numbers had risen to the 60,000-70,000 range. Portuguese authorities claimed that 60 percent of these were African, but this figure must have included paramilitary and specially trained groups, since only about 35 percent of the regular army was African.

COLONIAL ECONOMY. See COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE; COLONATOS; ECONOMY; FORCED LABOR; SETTLERS.

COLONOS. This is a Portuguese term for white agricultural settlers who were encouraged to settle in Angola in the

20th century, particularly after World War II. Most *colonos* were ill-educated, undercapitalized and poorly motivated to stay in farming. As a result the majority turned to petty trading in competition with Africans. See also **SETTLERS**.

COMISSÃO DO BAIRRO. The *Comissão do Bairro* (Neighborhood Committee) is a key unit of local government in urban areas under the Angolan Constitution. The Neighborhood Committees had a mandate from MPLA in the immediate post-independence period to organize the life of the neighborhood and provide essential social services, such as food cooperatives, schools, clinics, information services, and so on.

COMITÉ MILITAR DA RESISTÊNCIA ANGOLANA (COMIRA). Set up in August 1980 as a committee of the FNLA military staff, COMIRA, under the leadership of Paulo Tuba and Hendrik Vaal Neto, suspended FNLA political offices that December and in mid-1981 ousted Holden Roberto as FNLA president. Other key leaders of COMIRA included Moises Kamabaya Gaspar and Francisco da Cruz. Despite reports in 1982 that it was readying for activity along the Zaire-Angolan border, COMIRA never became a military factor. In 1985 Tuba and Neto visited the U.S. in the vain hope of receiving assistance. By 1990 all of COMIRA's top leadership had made peace with the Angolan government. See also **FRENTE NACIONAL DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA**; **POLITICAL PARTIES**.

COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE. Commercial agriculture, or cash cropping, has been a part of the Angolan economy since Paulo Dias de Novães granted land for plantations to his allies in the late 16th century. The cities of the arid coastal strip have always had to import their food from the better-watered hinterland. Crop production for export, however, has a much

shorter history. It did not get established in any significant way until the 19th century, and did not take off until after the end of the slave trade. Coffee, introduced into Ndembu and Amboim in the 1830s, has been historically the largest export crop. Other export crops of significance include palm products, sisal, maize, cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane.

During the modern colonial era, white settlers were favored in the commercial agricultural sector. When independence came, their departure meant dislocations in production. Commercial agriculture has also been particularly hard hit by years of warfare. Government agricultural policies after independence favored large-scale mechanized agricultural enterprises and collectivization in the productive sector. However, falling oil prices in 1986 and the effects of the civil war have recently combined to shift policy toward more direct support of peasant producers. Actual production statistics are not available for most of the 1980s, but government economic reforms since 1987 have been aimed at the revival of agricultural output. See also COFFEE; COLONATOS; COLONOS; COTTON; ECONOMY.

COMRADE. The socialist form of address preferred by officials of the MPLA-PT. Variations of address can denote factional differences within Angolan political elites.

CONFERÊNCIA DAS ORGANIZAÇÕES NACIONALISTAS DAS COLONIAS PORTUGUESAS (CONCP). The Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies was formed in Casablanca with Soviet support in 1961. Its objective was to formalize and increase links between the four socialist liberation movements of Portuguese Africa. Main activities included joint lobbying and propaganda work, especial-

ly at the OAU, and the exchange of military information.

This organization set the stage for future cooperation between the governments of the Lusophone African states. See also LUSOPHONE AFRICA.

CONGO. See KONGO; ZAIRE.

CONQUISTA. [early colonial period, *reino*]. This term is here used to refer to Portuguese Angola from the 16th to the mid-19th centuries. As the name *conquista* [Port.: lit. conquered territory] implies, the administration of Portuguese Angola before the modern era was militarily based. From the 16th century the chief Portuguese representative in Angola was the governor, who was usually a military officer.

Early Portuguese administration relied on a line of fortresses called *presídios* located along the Kwanza River and at key points to its north and south. These were the centers of military districts, usually under the command of Afro-Portuguese with strong local ties. By the 19th century other units called *distritos*, often based on towns, were also recognized. The officials in charge of these local administrative points were variously called *chefes*, *regentes*, and *capitães-mores*.

Lack of money and manpower, dependence on Afro-Portuguese personnel, and African resistance meant that until the 20th century Portuguese administration in the interior was frequently tenuous. Crucial to its continuing influence were the local African leaders, called *sobas* by the Portuguese, who were recognized by the Luanda government on recommendation of the local captain in return for taxes and services, such as providing porters, soldiers, and procuring food, slaves, and other trade goods. Over the years, ties of family as well as of administration and trade came to link the Afro-Portuguese officials and the

sobas, who relied on each other to govern much of the "Portuguese" interior.

CONTRATADOS. This was a general term for the African contract laborers, usually recruited by force, who replaced slaves on the plantations, in the mines, and on public works projects during the modern colonial period. See also **FORCED LABOR**; **SERVIÇÃES**; **SLAVERY**.

COPPER. This metal has been worked since antiquity in Angola. Later Iron Age economic and political development was enhanced by the development of copper mining and manufacture in the north. In particular, scarce copper contributed to the development of long-distance commerce, which in turn helped create the conditions under which the Kongo state emerged, probably by the 14th century.

Lisbon officials were obsessed by a drive to exploit copper periodically from the 17th through the 19th centuries. In recent times war has limited exploitation of copper deposits known to exist in Uíge province and other areas.

COTTON. Although historically one of Angola's major crops, cotton production has dropped dramatically since independence, hit hard by both war and the loss of expatriate expertise. Angola, which had exported nearly 13,000 tons of cotton in 1974, had to import cotton for the first time in 1983. The main cotton-producing area is the Kasanje region of Malanje province.

In the modern colonial era, the cotton market was controlled by the largest of the concessionary companies, Companhia Geral dos Algodões de Angola (COTONANG), which controlled thousands of acres of production in the Kasanje region. Local Africans were forced to cultivate cotton and to sell their crops at the

low prices fixed by the government. In January, 1961 farm workers went on strike and refused to pay taxes as a protest against the unfairness of the system. Reprisals by the Portuguese resulted in the destruction of villages and the deaths of hundreds of Africans. The historic "cotton revolt" was a precursor of the national uprisings of February and March of 1961.

In 1978, COTONANG was nationalized along with other foreign enterprises abandoned by the Portuguese after independence. In the eighties Soviet agronomists were brought in to help Angola revive its cotton fields, but the insecurities of warfare and its attendant disruption of transport led to disappointing results. In the early nineties the government turned to western European capital and the idea of concessionary companies in a continued search for the key to reviving this important sector.

COUTINHO, FRANCISO DE INOCÊNCIO DE SOUSA. One of the few visionary governors of Angola (1764-1772), Sousa Coutinho saw the need to make the colony more than a source of slaves for Brazil. He attempted to promote internal development through such measures as sponsoring the settlement of the Benguela plateau by European colonists; encouraging local agriculture; and starting a shipyard, an iron foundry, and leather and soap factories. He founded a school for engineers in Luanda and a chamber of commerce for traders. Most of his far-sighted policies lapsed after his departure, but the example of what he had accomplished remained.

CRUZ, VIRIATO FRANCISCO CLEMENTE DA (1928-1973). One of the fathers of post-World War II nationalist intellectual activity, Cruz was a founding member of MPLA. He edited the short-lived but important literary magazine, *Mensagem*, and published many poems as well as journal articles.

After his extreme left-wing views put him in conflict with the MPLA leadership in 1963, he left the party and tried to form an alliance with Holden Roberto. This failed, in part because of Cruz's pro-Chinese position. From 1969 until his death he lived in China, where he was Secretary of the Organization of Asian and African writers.

CUANDO-CUBANGO. See **KUANDO-KUBANGO.**

CUBA. By providing military and economic assistance to Angola since 1975, Cuba has proved itself to be the MPLA-PT government's closest international ally. The arrival of Cuban troops in October, 1975 tipped the balance in the civil war and prevented the SADF from imposing a government of its choosing. Since 1976 Cuba has provided social and economic assistance as well as military aid. Cuban experts helped to replace Portuguese and expatriate technicians who fled after independence. Cuban doctors, teachers and engineers have provided needed assistance in the last decade.

Cuba joined with Angola and South Africa in a late 1988 accord that traded the phased withdrawal of the 50,000 Cuban troops in Angola for Namibian independence. Cuba has withdrawn its troops ahead of the accord's timetable. On May, 26, 1991 the last Cuban troops left Angola. As the Soviet Union began to reduce its assistance to Cuba in the 1990s, there have been indications that Cuba's ability to provide economic aid to Angola may also be reduced. See also **SOUTH AFRICAN WAR**; **USSR.**

CUITO CUANAVALÉ. This town is the site of a FAPLA air base in southwest Angola that was used by SADF during its 1975-76 intervention into the Angolan civil war. After the battle of Mavinga in 1987-88, FAPLA installed a sophisticated air defense system and other-

wise modernized the air base. Cuito Cuanavale was the site of an early 1988 siege by 4,000 UNITA troops with South African support. UNITA lost this bid at conventional war, sustaining severe casualties.

CULTURA NACIONAL. Term used in discussions of what a national Angola culture should be, is, was. The term was pioneered in the work of Agostinho Neto. It has been further developed in the work of Henrique Abranches and other contemporary Angolan writers. Understandings about the meaning of this term provide the framework in which cultural and educational priorities are worked out.

Issues which have been addressed include the problem of building national unity; the relationship of regional cultures to a developing national one; and the role of the party (MPLA) and Marxist-Leninism in shaping this national culture.

CULTURE. The cultural life of contemporary Angola is both dynamic and heterogenous. It flows from deep historical springs embedded in numerous communities with a variety of related languages and traditions, including that of the creole or Afro-Portuguese. Important currents flow also from the Lusophone, Pan-African, socialist and modern cultural worlds as well.

Since independence the government has taken cultural affairs very seriously, perhaps not only because of their importance to the quest for national unity, but also because the leadership of the ruling MPLA has included so many literary figures. Not only education and media have been subjects of national government interest and control, but also holidays, traditional festivals, folklore, performing and visual arts, literature, publishing, museums, archeology, languages, history, and even sports are considered vital in the quest to build a unifying *cultura nacional*.

Cultural policy was established by the 1976 Party Congress with the goals of: 1) eliminating illiteracy, 2) reforming education, taking into account the concrete realities and needs of Angola, 3) promoting study and research about traditional popular culture while enhancing its most positive aspects, and 4) developing a new, unifying Angolan national culture.

The National Directorate of Mass Culture organizes five yearly festivals: National Culture Day, November Forever Festival, Variante Festival, Carnaval da Vitória, and Festival of Luanda Island. This body is also responsible for "cultural activities and the cultural education of the public" generally. The five national festivals emphasize participation by local communities throughout the country. These, along with the other national holidays, including December 25 as "Family Day," are designed both to secularize and nationalize communal celebrations.

There are several organizations which serve to organize artistic and literary production, among them the National Plastic Artists Union and the National Performing Artists and Musicians Union, which includes actors, playwrights and composers as well.

Several government-sponsored organizations deal with research and preservation activities, among them the Institute for National Languages, which has targeted six main indigenous languages for study, and the various regional museums, each of which mounts exhibits and supports archeological and historical research. See also EDUCATION; LITERATURE; MEDIA.

CUNENE. See KUNENE.

CURRENCY. The earliest known widely used currency in Angolan history was derived from *nzimbu* shells mined in Luanda Bay. By the 15th century the *Mwene Kongo* had a monopoly on the production of these shells,

which were obtained by female divers. Other early currencies were cloth squares, copper objects and salt. During the period of the Atlantic slave trade a young, healthy adult male captive served also as a standard of currency, for the purchase of foreign cloth, weapons, luxuries, alcohol, gunpowder and hardware. See also KWANZA.

-D-

DANDE RIVER. This east-west-flowing river rises in the interior of Angola, north of Luanda. Throughout most of the early colonial period, the Dande marked the northern border of the *conquista*.

DEGREDDADOS. Many, if not most, of the permanent settlers who came to Angola before the 20th century were classed as *degredados*, that is, Portuguese condemned to exile in the colony. Their backgrounds ranged from petty crime to political dissent, and they included street people, prostitutes, Jews and other religious minorities. On arriving most struck out for the interior, where they went into trade. If they were among the one-third or so who survived the first year, they joined the ranks of Luso-Africans, marrying into local families, and sending their children into commerce, the army, church, or colonial administration. See also SETTLERS.

DEMBOS. See NDEMBU.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO. A neighbor of Angola by way of a tiny strip of border along the Cabinda enclave, the People's Republic of Congo shares with Angola common Kongo ethnic ties and a socialist political orientation. In the early days of the MPLA government Congo sheltered Cabindan separat-

ists, but cordial relations between the nations were soon established and have prevailed to the present.

DIAS DE NOVÃES, PAULO. See NOVÃES, PAULO DIAS DE.

DIAMONDS. For most of the 20th century diamonds have been among Angola's top export-earners. In 1974 more than 2,000,000 carats were produced, a figure that had dropped to 750,000 by 1985. The major diamond mines are located in North Lunda province.

In 1917 the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola (DIAMANG) was given a concession to control the exploration and mining of diamonds in the area north of the Benguela railway line. Based in Lisbon, DIAMANG was controlled primarily by Portuguese interests, but Belgian, British, American and South African investors held shares. The company's mining operations were based at Dunda, a company town where the firm controlled schools, hospitals, security and all employment.

From 1920 until the late 1940s, diamonds were Angola's major export commodity. In 1971 the original concession was replaced with a consortium of DIAMANG and De Beers Consolidated Mines of South Africa.

In 1975 the departure of Portuguese technicians caused a two-thirds drop in diamond production, which was aggravated by a reduction of the African work force and a dramatic increase in smuggling brought about by continuing civil strife. In 1977 the government nationalized shares belonging to small stockholders to bring its share of DIAMANG up to a comfortably controlling stake of 61 percent. Throughout the 1980s, legal diamond exports fell and smuggling increased, with some experts estimating that half of Angola's diamond production was mined and smuggled out of the country by UNITA.

Angola contracted with the Mining and Technical Services Company--owned by De Beers--to operate the mines and cut down on the illegal trade. In July, 1986 the Angolan government radically reorganized the diamond sector. DIAMANG was dissolved and its functions turned over to a state enterprise, Empresa Nacional de Diamantes de Angola (ENDIAMA). The concessions to mine diamonds were divided into blocs and production sharing agreements were offered to foreign concessionaires in an arrangement similar to that used in the successful oil industry. In early 1990 ENDIAMA awarded a Portuguese group a two-year concession to explore and mine diamonds in northeastern Angola.

DISTRITOS. [Districts]. These were modern colonial administrative units. The 16 districts in Angola at the time of independence were based on the Overseas Reform Law of 1933 and later modifications. Districts were subdivided into *concelhos* (townships) and *circum-scrições* (rural areas). These were further divided into *freguesias* (parishes) and *postos administrativos* (administrative posts). The *chefe de posto*, or official in charge of an administrative post, was a key figure in local government administration during the modern colonial era. He had a large measure of at least de facto control over local people, with whom he dealt through African village-level officials called variously *regedores* or *sobas*.

DROUGHT. Modern scholars hypothesize that periodic droughts have played a significant role in the historical development of Angolan peoples. Specifically, severe droughts, which occurred on the average about one in ten years, may have fueled the spread of slavery, slave raiding and the slave trade. They also may have contributed to the rise of strong states in better-watered, resource-rich or strategically located regions.

Drought continues periodically to cause significant hardship for Angolans. Drought, combined with continuing warfare, ravaged parts of southern Angola in 1990, causing some fatalities.

DUTCH. The Dutch held Luanda from 1640 to 1648. Several African powers, notably Kongo and Matamba, allied with them against the *conquista*. They were dislodged by a Brazilian force, which helped to strengthen the slave-trading tie that bound the two Portuguese colonies.

-E-

EARLY COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION. See CONQUISTA.

EARLY IRON AGE. The growth of food-producing communities was greatly accelerated about 100-300 A.D., when newcomers, new crops, and new technologies spread rapidly through most of Angola. This marked the beginning of the Early Iron Age in the region. Cultivation of the vegetable banana and various millets, sometimes along with domestic cattle, combined with metalworking to enable agricultural communities to raise productivity, colonize more marginal lands, and absorb or displace foraging peoples. Along with the new crops and techniques came new elements of language from the east, which some scholars hypothesize combined with local speech to give rise to a language subfamily they call Western Highland Bantu.

By the 6th century of our era, Bantu-speaking farmers were expanding their settlements throughout both the forest and savannah lands of Angola. Farming gradually replaced foraging except in the less hospitable east. Only in the far south did pastoralism become fully established, beginning about the 9th

century. See also BANTU DIASPORA; PASTORALISM; WESTERN HIGHLAND BANTU.

EARLY NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES. Western-educated Afro-Portuguese and *assimilados* began forming groups with nationalist aims as early as 1912, with the founding in Luanda of the Liga Angolana. In 1919, with the formation in Lisbon of the Liga Africana, two centers emerged--a pattern which remained characteristic of pre-World War II Angolan nationalist history. The groups in Angola were, of course, focused on the country itself, while those based in Lisbon had a broader Lusophone African constituency. In both cases the membership and goals of the organizations were firmly Afro-Portuguese, *assimilado*, and urban. By the early 1930s groups in both centers were forced into government-approved organizations whose activities were closely watched and strictly limited.

Following World War I several nationalist organizations emerged among students and other educated Africans in the Portuguese capital. Notable in addition to the Liga Africana was the Partido Nacional Africano (PNA), founded in 1921, which was influenced by Pan Africanist and Garveyite ideas. The Liga Africana adopted such then-radical positions as advocating the revocation of all discriminatory colonial legislation. The PNA was particularly active in opposing forced labor. Members petitioned both the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization on the matter. In 1929 branches in the colonies were banned, and in 1931 the Salazarist New State government forced the merger of PNA with the Liga Africana into a reformed and government-sponsored organization called Movimento Nacionalista Africana.

In Luanda the Liga Angolana gave rise to two sets of nationalist organizations when dissident moderates broke away in 1913 to form the Grêmio Africano. The Grêmio enjoyed a brief moment in the sun be-

tween 1921 and 1923, when it was allowed to send members to the colonial legislative council under Governor-General Norton de Matos. However, the group was silenced in a 1923 policy reversal and "allowed" to reform in 1929-30 as ANANGOLA, a government-sponsored cultural-social organization.

The Liga Angolana, which concentrated on issues related to the advancement of *assimilados*, also felt the heavy hand of the government in the 1929-1930 period, when it was "allowed" to reform as the Liga Nacional Africana. See also LIGA NACIONAL AFRICANA.

EASTERN REVOLT. See CHIPENDA.

ECONOMY. Agriculture and trade are the traditional bases of the Angolan economy. The basic food crops are cassava, maize, yams and bananas. Fishing and livestock raising are also regionally significant. Principal cash crops are coffee, cotton, sisal, and sugar cane. Diamonds and petroleum are the main exports, although there are reserves of iron ore, copper, manganese, phosphates, salt and uranium. In 1985, petroleum accounted for 95 percent of total exports and an estimated 35 percent of GNP. Petroleum refining is the most important industry. Energy is derived mostly from hydroelectric power, which is a major Angolan resource.

Before 1500 Angolans had a well-developed subsistence agricultural economy, with regional trading networks based on the exchange of scarce commodities and localized manufactures. The 16th-century Angolan entry into the Atlantic trade zone mainly stimulated slave trading, raiding, and the increased use of slave labor. It also stirred consumer demand for foreign manufactured goods. Indigenous cloth industries were particularly hard hit.

When the transatlantic slave trade finally ended for Angola in the mid-19th century, slaves were employed in the export commodity sector, which was dominated by ivory, rubber and coffee before 1910. With the expansion of Angola into its modern boundaries, Portuguese mercantile interests pushed for colonial-style economic development. Mines and plantations were encouraged through grants of lands and resources to both individuals and concessionary companies. Necessary infrastructure--including, of course, abundant supplies of African workers--was provided cheaply through a combination of forced labor, taxation, and land alienation.

During the first half of the 20th century Angola was turned into a modern-type colonial economy. Diamonds and coffee became the cornerstones of the European-controlled export sector. However, protective tariffs and a restrictive investment environment limited economic development, with the main beneficiaries being Portuguese middlemen and wealthier white settlers.

Only a few Africans were able to prosper significantly in the advancing colonial system through cash crop production. The Ovimbundu were successful maize exporters into the 1930s, while some Kongo and Mbundu prospered in coffee until they were cut out by an influx of white settlers after World War II.

After 1961, Portugal relaxed many long-standing restrictions on foreign investments in its colonies. As a result, United States, European and South African money flowed into Angolan agriculture, heavy industry, manufacturing and construction, mainly benefitting European immigrants and the expatriate firms themselves. In 1974-75, with an African government assured and civil war raging, most foreign capital and workers fled the country, halting many key economic activities. Of the major industries, only oil production has remained near its preindependence level.

After the MPLA took power, it cautiously began a transition to a socialist economy, taking care not to alienate the foreign oil firms upon which it depended for technical assistance and hard currency. The government nationalized key sectors of the economy, but was careful to compensate foreign firms. Agricultural cooperatives were created out of confiscated colonial plantations and central planning agencies were formed to oversee the development of the economy along socialist lines.

Because of the almost continuous state of war between the MPLA government and its foreign and domestic enemies, Angola's economy has continued to deteriorate. By the end of the civil wars in 1991 the dislocation of thousands of peasants had left only a fraction of the nation's arable land under cultivation. Disruption of Angola's infrastructure has crippled its iron and diamond mining industries. Although oil industry revenues have remained relatively unscathed, they have increasingly been used to pay for needed food imports.

Recently the MPLA has moved toward a more market-oriented economy, and it has taken measures to encourage foreign investment in its economy. In April, 1985 Angola became a signatory with the Lomé IV agreement, which governs African relations with the European community. In August, 1987 dos Santos announced a major economic recovery plan, the *San-eamento Económico e Financeiro* (SEF). Blaming the nation's problems on "excessive centralization of socialist planning," bureaucratization, corruption and the "failure to apply value relations efficiently," dos Santos proposed the privatization of some state enterprises, banking reforms, and measures to encourage foreign investment. In 1989 Angola joined the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

In 1990 and 1991 new legislation opened up the small-business sector to private enterprise, while

both agriculture and industrial enterprises were being opened to joint ventures with international firms. Angolan officials traveled to Brazil, Portugal, and the United States, promoting investment in Angola, particularly in the areas of rehabilitating infrastructure and reviving non-petroleum exports. These strategies, coupled with the foreseeable end of the wars and political liberalization, seemed to be working by spring of 1991. See also BANKING; COFFEE; COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE; COTTON; DIAMONDS; OIL; REFUGEES; SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE.

EDUARDO, JOHNNY. See PINNOCK, JOHNNY EDUARDO.

EDUCATION. Education, in the usual Western sense of schooling, has a long history in Angola. However, until independence, access to schooling, and thus to literacy and related skills, was extremely limited. Among African peoples of Angola (and elsewhere) communication systems were based in oracy, and job-training was a matter of apprenticeship. Schools were introduced by Europeans, particularly Christian missionaries.

The earliest school systems were established to train the Kongo elite for positions in the church and court after the king adopted Catholicism in the 16th century. Schooling was also an early concern of Afro-Portuguese communities and of coastal African merchants. The wealthiest, whether Kongo nobility, Afro-Portuguese bourgeoisie or Cabindan merchant princes, sent their most able students to Europe for education--or, once the church had established schools there for the training of local clergy, to Luanda.

With the opening of the modern colonial era, many new missionary enterprises were established in Angola. From this time until independence most Angolan schools were church-connected. Education pro-

viders concentrated on building primary and vocational schools, although secondary schools were also established, principally to train religious workers, or to serve the needs of the Afro-Portuguese and *assimilado* communities. University-level training became available in Angola in 1963. However, until the end of the colonial era, the vast majority of Angolans remained entirely outside of the modern educational system.

At the time of independence the literacy rate was in the region of 10-15 percent. The MPLA government addressed this situation by promulgating an education policy with four main goals: 1) free, universal education; 2) abolition of private schools, including church-related ones; 3) education linked directly to the manpower needs of the country; and 4) popular control of schools, along the lines of the "people's power" movement.

From 1976 to 1981 implementation of the educational policy goals was proceeding fairly well, despite the departure of many Portuguese teachers in 1975. By 1980 the percentage of primary-age children in school had more than doubled over 1970 levels, from 37 percent to 80 percent. Enrollment in secondary and vocational schools more than tripled to almost 200,000. Instruction in vernacular languages increased along with a significant shift in emphasis from European to African-oriented curricula.

The university was expanded, with faculties established at Huambo and Lubango as well as Luanda. Renamed Agostinho Neto University, it enrolled about 6,000 students for the 1986-87 academic year. In Angola training for primary school teachers is conducted at the secondary-vocational level.

A major adult literacy campaign was launched in 1976. It received the UNESCO International Prize for Literacy in 1981. By 1985 the adult literacy rate was officially estimated at 59 percent.

With the renewal of warfare in 1981, however, significant ground was lost on the educational front. By the mid-1980s enrollments at all levels had fallen, some by as much as 50 percent. However, by the end of the decade education was again being emphasized, particularly in conjunction with economic development strategies stressing technical education, adult literacy and teacher training. See also CATHOLIC MISSIONS; PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

ETHNOLINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES. See AMBO; AFRO-PORTUGUESE; CHOKWE; HERERO; KONGO; MBUNDU; LUNDA; NGANGELA; NYANEKA-NKHUMBI; OVIMBUNDU.

-F-

FALCÃO, EUSEBIO DE LEMOS PINHEIRO (1818-1851).

A Luanda-born Afro-Portuguese, Falcão was one of the most distinguished Angolan lawyers of the 19th century. He was educated at Coimbra University in Portugal and served as a commissioner on the Court of Mixed Commission and Arbitration, established in the 1840s to adjudicate cases deriving from the abolition of the slave trade.

FEIRA. [Market, or fair]. In Angolan history, the trade of the interior was largely managed through a series of strategically located marketplaces or *feiras*. Control over important international fairs was crucial to the prosperity of all states in the region, including the *conquista*. See also KASANJE.

FONTES PEREIRA, JOSÉ DE. See PEREIRA, JOSÉ DE FONTES.

FORÇAS ARMADAS POPULAR PARA LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA (FAPLA). The Popular Army for the Lib-

eration of Angola was formed from existing MPLA guerrilla forces, the *Exército Popular de Libertação Nacional de Angola* (EPLA), in August, 1974. In November, 1975 these forces were institutionalized as the national army under Article 6 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Angola. According to the 1991 Lisbon Peace Accord, FAPLA will be united with UNITA forces to form a single army by 1992. See also ARMED FORCES.

FORCED LABOR. The exploitation of African people's work was a constant theme in Angolan history, from the beginning of the slave trade for São Tomé to the end of forced labor right before independence. The slave trade was officially abolished in 1836 and slavery in 1878, leaving colonial interests without a means to obtain cheap labor for their projects.

Forced labor was first established in decrees of 1875 and 1899, and had the effect of legalizing the continued exploitation of African workers. Compulsory labor was made illegal in 1962 as a result of the 1961 uprising, but abuses continued virtually to the end of the colonial period. See also CONTRATADOS; SERVIÇÃES; SLAVERY.

FOREIGN POLICY. Since its beginnings, Angolan foreign policy has had five goals: 1) to achieve diplomatic recognition from and to establish relations with the entire international community; 2) to negate diplomatic support for its internal enemies; 3) to acquire economic and technical assistance from both East and West; 4) to join together with its southern African neighbors in order to break the region's economic dependence on South Africa; and 5) to support the establishment of majority rule in South Africa and Namibia.

After its declaration of independence in 1975, the MPLA government was primarily concerned with obtaining the diplomatic recognition of its African

neighbors. After the open support of South Africa for the FNLA and UNITA became apparent in late 1975, Nigeria and Tanzania recognized the MPLA government and the entire OAU lent its endorsement in 1976. After the OAU's nod of recognition, most of the non-African world followed, with the notable exception of the U.S., which still does not maintain formal relations with Angola.

With the decline of FNLA in the late 1970s, UNITA became MPLA's major internal rival. With the exception of South Africa and the U.S., Angola has been successful in preventing open diplomatic support for UNITA, although the group has received secret support from some nations who deny it publicly.

The Angolan government has received modest economic and technical support from many countries in the West and East. In addition, Angola has benefitted from its relations with Western petroleum firms, and has been careful to foster good relations with foreign investors, despite MPLA's socialist orientation.

Since the formation of SADCC in 1980, Angola has joined with its neighbors in an attempt to break South Africa's economic hold on the region, but with little success. One focus of SADCC's strategy, the use of the Benguela railroad to bypass the South African controlled rail network, has been crippled by UNITA's repeated guerrilla attacks on the railway. South African destabilization schemes throughout the region have also set back plans. Nevertheless, Angola remains committed to economic independence.

Angola's support for liberation struggles in Namibia and South Africa was hampered throughout the 1980s by South Africa's military countermoves. The sanctuaries that Angola provided SWAPO and the ANC were attacked repeatedly by the South African air force and were moved far from where they could be useful in a guerrilla war. They were even moved out completely for a time in 1984. Nevertheless,

Angola played a valuable role in the fight for Namibian independence by its diplomatic persistence in the talks with South Africa and Cuba that led to Namibian independence.

With the apparent end to Angola's long civil war, Angolan foreign policy in the 1990s is likely to revolve around efforts to obtain Western economic assistance to help rebuild the nation's economy. See also BRAZIL, CUBA, NAMIBIA, PORTUGAL, SOUTH AFRICA, UNITED STATES, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, ZAIRE and ZAMBIA.

FRENTE NACIONAL DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA (FNLA). The National Front for the Liberation of Angola was formed at the end of March, 1962 by an alliance of the União das Populações de Angola (UPA) and the Partido Democrático Angolano (PDA), both Kongo-based nationalist groups founded in the 1950s.

FNLA was always dominated by the UPA group led by Holden Roberto, who often assumed dictatorial powers. Although it attracted a multi-ethnic leadership, FNLA largely remained an ethnonationalist party depending on its traditional Kongo mass following. On April 5, 1962, FNLA created GRAE to assume overall responsibility for the political and military struggle against the Portuguese.

FNLA guerrillas were most active in northern Angola, operating from bases in Zaire, with the military headquarters at Kinkuzu. In the 1960s FNLA received covert aid from the U.S. through the CIA in Zaire. In 1972-1973 FNLA received military aid from China through the mediation of President Nyerere of Tanzania.

In October, 1974 FNLA opened an office in Luanda and began to organize its support in the capital. Roberto bought the newspaper *A Província de Angola* and a TV station to disseminate propaganda.

FNLA's participation in the Transitional Government that was to lead Angola to independence broke down when MPLA troops ousted FNLA forces from Luanda in July, 1975. Then the FNLA army, enlarged by Chipenda's troops and supported by Portuguese and South African forces, won major battles in the escalating civil war; by November, 1975 it had advanced to within a few miles of Luanda--only to be turned back by FAPLA with Cuban reinforcements.

In November, 1975 FNLA and UNITA established a rival government to that of MPLA, but this was never recognized, and by January, 1976 FNLA opposition had collapsed. Most leaders retreated to exile in Zaire, and FNLA maintained a low-level military activity in the Kongo regions of northern Angola from Zaire bases. In early 1979 five of the FNLA's top military leaders accepted an amnesty from the Angolan government and returned to Luanda. As a result of a rapprochement between Angola and Zaire, the FNLA was ousted from its Zairean sanctuaries in October, 1979. Roberto went into exile in Paris. In 1980 a group of military officers led by Paolo Tuba and Hendrik Vaal Neto rejected Roberto's leadership and formed the Comité Militar de Resistência de Angola (COMIRA). After a brief flurry of military activity COMIRA, like the FNLA, disappeared as a military force.

In 1984 a group of 1,500 former FNLA guerrillas left the forest of Uíge province and surrendered to FAPLA. Later that year FNLA leader Johnny Eduardo Pinnock returned to Angola; he was followed by Daniel Chipenda in 1986. A 1984-85 tour of the U.S. by Roberto received little attention in the press and none from the U.S. government.

By the late 1980s most of FNLA's leaders and troops had returned home and been reintegrated into Angolan society. The only significant remnant of FNLA still at war with MPLA were the 500 to 1,000

former FNLA soldiers who had signed on as mercenaries in the SADF's 32nd "Buffalo" Battalion. Led by white officers from the old Rhodesian army, the Buffalo Battalion supported the UNITA forces in the battle of Mavinga in 1986 and sustained heavy losses.

After the May 1991 Lisbon Peace Accord, Holden Roberto, still based in Paris, began efforts to relaunch the dormant FNLA. In June, he met with sympathetic ethnic Kongos of Angolan origin in Zaire and with some former FNLA members now in the MPLA, including, according to some reports, Central Committee member Johnny Eduardo Pinnock. After at first refusing to acknowledge the MPLA's new electoral law, the FNLA's spokesman in Luanda, Leopoldo Trovoada, filed papers registering the party in July. Given the party's proven ethnic appeal among the Kongo within Angola and in exile in Zaire, the FNLA cannot not be ruled out as a possible wild-card in the fall 1992 elections. See also MODERN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS; ROBERTO.

FRENTE PARA A LIBERTAÇÃO DO ENCLAVE DE CABINDA (FLEC). Formed in 1963 by Cabindan nationalist groups at a conference in Pointe-Noire, the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda aimed to achieve Cabindan independence from the rest of Angola. After it was banned in the enclave in November, 1974, FLEC organized itself militarily, launching several attacks from Zaire on MPLA and Cuban forces, but with little success. The Cabindan independence movement suffered throughout its history from intense personal rivalries which came to a head in 1979, when it disintegrated into four factions. In October, 1979 Zaire expelled FLEC's leadership from its soil, a development that sealed the group's demise.

FRONT LINE STATES. The informal grouping of southern and central African nations known as the Front Line

States was brought together in the early 1970s to support national liberation movements in the region. In the early part of the decade, when the focus was on struggles against white-minority rule in Rhodesia and Portuguese colonialism, the group's composition was tilted toward nations directly providing sanctuary and sustenance to Angolan, Mozambican and Zimbabwean freedom fighters. The success of those struggles both strengthened the organization and narrowed its focus to combatting the apartheid regime in South Africa and securing Namibian independence. An early recipient of support by the Front Line States, independent Angola has been a strong supporter of the group and its activities.

-G-

GARCIA II (1641-1661). Under this ruler, Kongo reached its height of centralized power, and began its precipitous decline into civil war. Faced with more than the usual internal factional resistance, Garcia was able to consolidate his power and strengthen the Crown between 1641 and 1648. He negotiated with Rome for greater control over the local church; received the first Capuchin (Italian) missionaries; and allied with his Dutch trading partners, who had just seized Luanda, against the Portuguese.

Things went well until 1648, when a Brazilian fleet was able to recapture Luanda for Portugal, and the Angolan *conquista* went on the offensive against those countries that had supported the Dutch. When Garcia died in 1661, he had been able to defeat Portuguese attempts to foment rebellion, detach strategic vassals, and prevent substantial trade losses, but defensive measures were costly and the basic problems remained.

GOVERNMENT. See ADMINISTRATION.

GOVERNO REVOLUCIONÁRIO DE ANGOLA NO EXÍLIO (GRAE). The Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile was formed April 5, 1962 as the operations arm of the recently formed FNLA, along with some MPLA dissidents. From the beginning, however, it was dominated by Holden Roberto's group. GRAE was based in Kinshasa, where it established related organizations for women, youth, students, and workers, as well as one which worked among the quarter-million Kongo refugees then in Zaire.

Holden Roberto's greatest political victory over Neto's MPLA came in 1963, when the OAU recognized GRAE as the only viable representative of the Angolan liberation movement and voted to channel all military aid to GRAE alone. Another success for Roberto was the victory of Mobutu Sese Seko, a personal friend, in the political struggle in Zaire. GRAE, on the other hand, was weakened by the defection of its Foreign Minister, Jonas Savimbi, and his Ovimbundu supporters, who broke away to form their own party, UNITA.

By 1971 dissatisfaction with Roberto's leadership, the weakness of GRAE, and rising support for Neto caused the OAU to withdraw formal recognition. GRAE gradually faded away, although the FNLA continued. See also FNLA; ROBERTO.

GRÊMIO AFRICANO. See EARLY NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES.

GUERRA PRETA. This term, meaning literally "black war," referred to the "second line" of the colonial army, which consisted of African troops, usually raised by *sobas* within the *conquista*. There were, however, also African troops employed directly by the colonial authorities. See also COLONIAL ARMIES.

-H-

HERERO. [Ovaherero]. People of the far southwest, who have followed predominantly a herding way of life. Although making up less than one percent of Angolans, the Herero are strongly represented among the populations of both Botswana and Namibia.

The Herero of Angola live mainly in the hot, arid coastal lowlands and on the mountainous escarpment to the east, in Namibe, Benguela and Huila provinces. Traditionally nomadic or seminomadic pastoralists, they escaped involvement in the intense commercialism of the Atlantic zone until quite late because they lived in a harsh environment, remote from major trade routes; they also had no substantial population for slave raiders to draw on.

Even in the modern colonial era, the Portuguese government in Luanda paid them scant attention until disputes with African neighbors and European settlers over cattle, as well as their continuing refusal to adapt to colonial society (i.e., pay their taxes), finally caused the Portuguese to launch a military expedition against them in 1940-41. Hundreds were killed and imprisoned, hundreds more were sent to labor in mines and plantations in Angola and São Tomé, while others migrated south to join the main Herero populations in Namibia.

HUAMBO. The province takes its name from a Portuguese transliteration of Wambu, the main Ovimbundu state in the region in the 19th century. Situated on a fertile plateau about 250 miles from the coast, at an altitude of nearly 5,800 feet, the town of Huambo has one of the best climates in the country. Known as Nova Lisboa in the colonial era, the town is a principal Ovimbundu center and was a magnet for white settlement before independence.

It is a major commercial, agricultural, and administrative center and contains the main workshops for the Benguela Railway. In 1970 it was second only to Luanda in population, though it is believed now to trail the Benguela-Lobito metropolitan area. Huambo was a focal point for UNITA activities in 1974-1976, and the focus of military campaigns in the mid-1980s as well. See also OVIMBUNDU; UNITA.

HUÍLA. Province and state. The province of Hufla includes the Hufla Highlands, from the dramatic 6,000-7,000-foot peaks of the Humpata Highlands in the west through the vast Hufla plateau sloping off to the east. This is the traditional homeland of the Nyaneka peoples, Hufla being the name of one of several small Nyaneka states that developed in the 18th century to defend the highlanders from Nkhumbi raiders.

Pumbeiros from Luanda and Benguela, and Ovimbundu from Wambu, traded in ivory, wax, slaves, and cattle in the region by the 18th century. By the early 19th century the Portuguese had appointed a *regente* for the area, and in 1845 the settlement at Hufla became the site of a *presidio*. Like the Huambo and Bié areas to the north, the cool climate and farming potential of the western and northern regions of the plateau attracted white settlers in the late 19th century. By the early 20th century Lubango (Sá da Bandeira) was becoming the most important urban center in southern Angola.

Communications with the coast were facilitated by the completion of the railway from Namibe (Moçâmedes) to Lubango (Sá da Bandeira) in 1923. See also LUBANGO; NAMIBE; NYANEKA.

HUMAN RIGHTS. Over the last 30 years Angolans have lived in an almost constant state of war, and as a result thousands of civilians have lost their lives from viola-

tions by combatants of the international standards of warfare.

During the struggle for independence, Portuguese secret police and military tortured, imprisoned and killed hundreds of Angolan nationalists with only the most rudimentary elements of due process. At various times during the current civil conflict, the independent state of Angola has detained persons solely for their political views, and in some cases dissidents have been executed after political trials. A 1989 report by the regional human rights organization Africa Watch criticized the government's policy of resettling populations to prevent them from supporting rebel forces.

The rebel group UNITA has also been accused of human rights violations. Dissidents within the movement have in recent years accused its leader, Jonas Savimbi, of killing his political rivals. The 1989 Africa Watch report found that UNITA had "systematically committed gross abuses of human rights that no conception of military necessity could justify." The report accused the group of pursuing tactics "designed to starve civilians," including the laying of land mines in footpaths and at the sources of water.

-I-

IMBANGALA. The term Imbangala is derived from an Umbundu root, *vangala*, meaning to be brave or to wander widely through the countryside. In the 16th century Lunda title-holders and their followers, who had gradually moved westward from their homeland east of the Kwango, arrived in Ovimbundu, where they fused Ovimbundu political and social ideas, particularly that of the *kilombo*, a warrior society, with their own. The resulting Imbangala (or "Jaga" in contemporary records) formed militarized and highly mobile

bands, several of which subsequently played important roles in the history of the region.

The Imbangala were ideal allies for the Portuguese in the early days of *conquista* expansion. In 1612 a large Imbangala band joined forces with the Portuguese from Luanda, and for the next decade their joint forces attacked the western Mbundu, bringing *Ngola a Kiluanje* and its neighbors to the point of total collapse. By the mid-17th century the Imbangala north of the Kwanza had settled down among the Mbundu, forming a new group of states, including Kasanje, which existed until the late 19th century.

While the Imbangala-ruled states north of the Kwanza River came into the diplomatic and commercial orbit of the *conquista*, those south of the river remained quite resistant to peaceful relations with Luanda or Benguela. Despite several military expeditions, it was not until the 18th century that the Atlantic slave trade zone reached directly up into the Central Highlands. See KASANJE; MBUNDU.

INDEPENDENT CHURCHES. A fusion of traditional religious insight and experience on the one hand, and missionary-delivered Christianity on the other, led to the rise of independent churches. These groups usually began in a mission environment. Typically they were founded by a strong, inspired prophet who broke with a mission church, incorporating aspects of traditional religious belief with some characteristics of Christianity into a new church. Old Testament texts and practices are often more prominent than New Testament ones. Although initially featuring a highly ecstatic worship and fluid direction, those groups which have endured have undergone some degree of institutionalization. Numerical estimates of membership are notoriously unreliable. The 1980 statistics given below are suggestive of comparative relationships, rather than serving as an exact census.

Kimbanguist Church (Igreja Kimbanguista) is the Angolan body of followers of the teachings of Simon Kimbangu, a Zairean Kongo Baptist prophet in the first third of the 20th century. It is not organizationally affiliated with the EJCSK, the Church of Jesus Christ in the World by the Prophet Simon Kimbangu, which is the "official" Kimbanguist church in Zaire, run by Kimbangu's descendants. The Angolan branch was founded and led originally by Matswa Andre; his form of Kimbanguism also used to be known as Amicalism. The 10,000 adult members are almost all Kongo.

The Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Igreja do Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo) is an independent offshoot of the English Baptists in Kongo. It was founded in 1949 and has about 10,000 adult adherents.

The Church of Lassy Zepherin (Igreja de Lassy Zepherin) is a Cabindan, Kongo independent church. Founded in 1953, it has about 500 members. Groups with even fewer professing members include the Holy Spirit Group (Grupo do Espírito Santo); the Apostolic Church (Igreja Apostólica)--which is the independent church founded by Joseph Maranke in Zimbabwe; and the Black Church (Igreja dos Negros) founded by the prophet Simon Mpadi, a former Kimbanguist from Zaire. See also TOCO.

INDÍGENA. This Portuguese term, which translates as "native" in English, was used to denote Africans dependent on the colony who were not culturally linked to the Portuguese. Its opposite was *assimilado*. Indigenous peoples, from earliest colonial times, were subject to both tribute and forced labor, which was organized through local headmen, or *sobas*, who, in turn, were dependent on the local *capitão-mor* through the complex webs spun by the slave trade. In the 20th century, when colonial administration was rationalized

and extended, the term, like its counterpart, *assimilado*, for a time came to have specific legal meaning.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF). See BANKING.

IRON. Iron and iron-working technology have been crucial to the political, economic and social development of Angola since at least the first millennium A.D. The modern extractive industry began in 1956, and in the 1960s iron production averaged from 700,000 to 800,000 tons annually from mines in Bié and Huíla provinces. The most important sources were in Kassinga in the Huíla district, where high-grade 68-percent-pure ores are found.

First exploited by the Portuguese-controlled Companhia Mineira do Lobito, the largest investments were made from 1965 to 1975 by the Krupp Company of West Germany, which built the Moçâmedes railway. In 1975 the Kassinga mines were partially destroyed in the civil war. A state-owned firm, Empresa Nacional de Ferro de Angola (FERRANGOL), was created in 1981 to rehabilitate the iron mines, but the continuing war against the UNITA rebels and South Africa, who have twice seized Kassinga, has delayed the reopening of the mines. However, it is estimated that Kassinga still contains 1,000 million tons of high-grade ore.

IRON AGE. See EARLY IRON AGE; LATER IRON AGE.

IVORY. Although an established item of trade from the earliest period of Portuguese contact with Angola, it was only after the abolition of the slave trade in 1836 that demand for ivory in Luanda, Benguela and Moçâmedes soared, and elephant hunting and ivory trading became a source of great prosperity. The abolition of the Portuguese royal monopoly on ivory exports also stim-

ulated the trade after 1834. The trade through the Kongo areas of northern Angola to the markets at Malebo Pool in Zaire had been established since the 16th century. In the 19th century Chokwe hunters and Ovimbundu traders searched out sources of ivory east of the Kwango River, and the Ambo and Nkhumbi of southern Angola sold ivory to Portuguese and Boer traders.

During the civil wars wildlife conservation groups accused UNITA guerrillas of having systematically slaughtered over 100,000 elephants for their tusks. UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi admitted that his group paid for South African military assistance in part with ivory smuggled over the Namibian border.

-J-

JACINTO (DO AMARAL MARTINS), ANTÓNIO (1922-).

A Luanda-born writer, Jacinto published his first volume of poems in 1961, the same year in which he was arrested on charges stemming from his nationalist activities and sentenced to 14 years in prison. He spent most of his prison years in the company of other writers at Tarrafal, Cape Verde Islands.

Since independence he has played an important role in the formation and implementation of cultural and educational policy for the Angolan government. He was appointed Minister of Education and Culture in Neto's first Cabinet; and in 1977 became secretary of the National Cultural Council.

At the Third MPLA Congress in 1990 Jacinto withdrew his candidacy for re-election to the Central Committee on the basis of advanced age. His contributions to party and nation were formally praised by the Congress.

JAGA. A term in general use in European literature of the 16th and 17th centuries to denote peoples who threat-

ened the western coastal populations from the interior. Any hostile, mobile forces might be labeled "Jaga." All groups so labeled were at one time thought to be members of a single, identifiable ethnic group. This has proved not to be the case. The term has been linked by historians to the Lunda political title, Imbangala. Some now use these two interchangeably. However, it is becoming clear that while all Imbangala are properly Jaga, not all Jaga were Imbangala, but may have, in fact, been mobile raiders of any political or ethnic background. See also IMBANGALA.

JAMBA. The headquarters of UNITA, Jamba is located in Kwando-Kubango province in southwestern Angola. A small, military camp town, Jamba has only four large standing buildings, a hospital, two churches and the UNITA military and administrative headquarters building. In late 1985, a FAPLA offensive threatened Jamba but was stopped at Mavinga with South African help. South Africa also supplied the town in the eighties. It was the site of many press events and U.S. congressional junkets.

JINGA. See MATAMBA; NJINGA.

JORGE, PAULO TEIXEIRA. On November 27, 1976, Jorge was appointed Foreign Minister, a position he held until 1984. In 1984 he was dismissed because he was taking a harder line on negotiations with the U.S. and South Africa over the Namibia-Cuban troop question than dos Santos wanted. At the December, 1985 Second MPLA Congress, he slipped to the role of Central Committee alternate. In 1985 he was given the unimportant post of Secretary of the People's Assembly, and in 1986 he became governor of Kwanza North province.

-K-

KALAHARI SANDS. This refers to the extremely sandy soils which characterize much of eastern Angola. The sand was deposited in remote times when drier conditions brought the Kalahari Desert much further north than it is today.

KASAI RIVER. This Zaire tributary forms the eastern border of Angola in the far north. The river and its affluents provided islands of good agricultural land in a region characterized generally by sandy, infertile soils dating from the ancient northward thrusts of the Kalahari Desert.

KASANJE. This term refers both to a region, also called the "Baixa de Cassange," and to a successful trading state of the eastern Mbundu which historically controlled this region of the upper Kwango Valley. The kingdom was founded by Imbangala-led Mbundu who were reorganizing in the wake of the decline of independent *Ngola a Kiluanje* and its incorporation into Portuguese Angola. After 1648 Kasanje played an important role in extending the Atlantic commercial zone further east. It became a major market on the slave-trading route from Luanda via Malanje to the Kwango River and thence to Lunda territory. The Portuguese established a *feira* at the Kasanje capital in the 17th century, through which the ruler, titled *kinguri*, monopolized the supply of slaves to coastal markets.

Mid-18th-century changes in Atlantic-zone commerce, however, saw the Imbangala lords of Kasanje lose out to upstart merchant princes, who controlled the monarchy and the Portuguese *feira* from the 1760s. Changing economic conditions in the first half of the 19th century reduced Kasanje's dependence on Luanda and more firmly placed it in the Lunda commercial orbit. Thus, when in the mid-19th century

Lunda suffered reverses at the hands of the expanding Chokwe, the political economy of Kasanje was also affected. The great trading lords of the kingdom disputed for the monarchy in the 1840s, but united to repel military intervention from colonial Angola in the 1860s. By the 1880s internal conflicts made Kasanje increasingly vulnerable to colonial military threats, which began anew in 1882. However, it was only after a series of wars that Kasanje was finally conquered and incorporated into Angola in 1911. See also IMBANGALA; MBUNDU; SLAVE TRADE.

KATUMBELA RIVER. Originating in the Highlands, this river flows west, entering the Atlantic just north of Benguela. Early Afro-Portuguese traders followed it into the interior, founding the fort of Caconda near its source in the 1680s.

KHOISAN. This term, though a linguistic one, refers both to a family of languages and the populations speaking them, most of whom follow a basically foraging way of life. The early inhabitants of the region are generally thought to have been Khoisan. These hunter-gatherer populations had either been absorbed or displaced by Bantu-speakers in most of the country by the 16th century. However, scattered groups of Khoisan, called !Xu-Angola or Maligo, still live in the far south in the semi-arid steppe lands.

KILENJES. Ovimbundu state on the western edge of the Central Highlands, east of Benguela and south of Caconda. Afro-Portuguese families settled in the area in the early 18th century, attracted by the availability of food to provision their trading ventures. Kilenjes was the commercial gateway to Huíla and the middle Kunene. From the 1770s it served as a center for Afro-Portuguese-Ovimbundu expansion of the slave trade into the southeast beyond the Kunene.

KISAMA. Very important salt-producing region located south of the Kwanza river and 30 miles inland of the Atlantic. The kiMbundu-speaking lords of the salt mines found buyers from throughout the region. The salt blocks circulated as currency and were important both for local consumption and for supplying the slave trade. By the 18th century the area had attracted escaped slaves from Luanda, as well as Afro-Portuguese traders. *Conquista* officials made several attempts to gain control of the area, but were unsuccessful until the 20th century.

KONGO. [Congo, Bacongo, Bakongo, Koongo]. People who inhabit the northernmost provinces of Angola--Cabinda, Zaire, and Uíge--as well as adjacent parts of the Republic of Zaire and the People's Republic of Congo. Contemporary Angolan Kongo descend from people who were subjects of the *Mwene Kongo* through the mid-17th century. Historic regional political divisions have resulted in a number of ethnolinguistic variations among kiKongo speakers, generally classified by ethnographers as "subgroups," among them the Solongo, Mushikongo, Sosso, Zombo, Yaka, Vili, Woyo, Kongo Sundi, and Yombe. The Angolan Kongo are the third-largest distinctive people of the country. Although many have fled to Zaire in times of warfare and economic distress, they continue to identify themselves as Angolan, and generally return when conditions improve.

Most Kongo came under Portuguese colonial rule only in the wake of the 1913-1915 rebellion led by Tulance Alvaro Buta, and initially directed against the Kongo king, who would not take leadership against colonial demands for forced labor. Several modern political parties have originated in Kongo ethnonationalism, the most enduring of which was FNLA, which played a role in instigating the uprising of Kongo peasants against white settlers in March, 1961 that was

a catalyst in starting the 1961-1974 war of national liberation against the Portuguese. See also BUTA; CABINDA; FLEC; FNLA; KONGO KINGDOM; LOANGO; MODERN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS; SOYO; VILI; ZOMBO.

KONGO HIGHLANDS. These are the northernmost of the western highland areas of Angola, and the lowest in elevation. The Kongo Highlands rise comparatively gradually from the Zaire valley and Atlantic coastal plain. The highest elevations are in the south, in an area known as Ndembu. The higher elevations in Kongo are the most densely populated, and historically constituted the heartland of the kingdom. See also NDEMBU.

KONGO KINGDOM. This Kongo state was the major regional power on the west-central Atlantic coast from the mid-15th to the mid-17th centuries. During this period it was a powerful, centralized kingdom under a ruler, the *Mwene Kongo*, who had his capital in the northern Angola town of Mbanza Kongo. This kingdom, like those among the Mbundu, had its roots in very small states created in Later Iron Age times by local leaders who were connected with smithing, or perhaps with the ability to control scarce resources, such as iron, copper or salt, or to bring rains. By the late 15th century an expanding Kongo was absorbing its neighbors and claiming dependencies from Ngoyo to the island of Luanda, where the national shell currency was obtained.

Copper, salt, raffia cloth, pottery, fish, iron tools, mats and baskets were among the items in commercial circulation before 1500. A three-tiered social structure of aristocracy, commoners and slaves had been developed. The 15th-century population was comparatively dense, with towns [*mbanza*] and markets

linking the rural farming hamlets under a hierarchy of local, provincial, and central officials.

The Kongo were the first people in Angola to make contact with the Portuguese, and thus the first to experience the possibilities and problems of the Atlantic era. As would be the case for many other kingdoms over the next 300 or so years, the opportunities of the Atlantic zone initially strengthened the central government in Kongo. From the start, Kongo monarchs saw advantages in the Portuguese connection. They were quite willing to adopt Christianity, to adapt to European modes of communication, and to exchange war captives and copper for muskets, hardware, and a corps of resident missionaries, merchants and advisors dependent upon the king.

This policy worked fairly well for more than 100 years despite a range of eventually fatal setbacks such as Kongo inability to control São Tomé traders, the growth of an independent Portuguese-Mbundu colony to the south, and the growth of strong, potentially rival powers within the kingdom, particularly coastal Soyo, with its direct access to the growing Atlantic commerce.

Despite these and more purely domestic difficulties often manifested in succession struggles between factions of noble houses, strong kings like Alvaro I and Garcia II effectively used their continuing control of economic resources, foreign affairs, and political assets, including the Catholic church, to maintain themselves as heads of a centralized regional power until the late 17th century.

As a result of a series of domestic political and economic foreign policy reverses which culminated with the Portuguese defeat of the Kongo army at the Battle of Mbvila (1665), centralized government was fatally weakened. From the 1670s until 1709 civil wars racked the countryside around the often deserted capital, sending thousands of captives to coastal slave

markets and giving rise to the remarkable national populist Christian movement (known as Antonianism) under Beatrice in 1705-1706.

After 1718 there was again a single king, but political authority under these often-figurehead *Mwene Kongo* was shared with court officials, provincial governors, and petty chiefs, all of whom had access to Atlantic zone commerce, now increasingly managed by Vili and Zombo merchants, answerable neither to Mbanza Kongo or Luanda. In fact, Portuguese merchants were generally excluded from the Kongo interior for the remainder of the slave-trade era, even though diplomatic and church ties remained between Kongo and Portugal.

Despite its usually decentralized condition, the matrix of the old kingdom remained, to be occasionally reconstituted under particularly strong monarchs, such as the mid-19th-century Henrique II (1845-1857), the last truly independent king of Kongo. His successor, Pedro V (1859-1891), enthroned with the aid of a Portuguese expeditionary army, lived to see the advance guard of the modern colony. However, most of Kongo was incorporated into Angola only in 1914-1915, when troops were sent to quell a widespread rebellion set off by attempts to extend the contract labor system to the north.

Until the 1950s kings continued to be elected and enthroned in Kongo, maintaining the memories of a more glorious past. This theme was picked up by modern nationalists both in Zaire and Angola, who in 1955 unsuccessfully petitioned the UN in a move to restore an independent Kongo Kingdom. See also AFONSO I; ALVARO I; BEATRICE; GARCIA II; TULANTE ALVARO BUTA.

KUBANGO RIVER. Southward-flowing river of the southern Angolan borderlands. It flows into the Okavango River and swamp lands in Botswana. In Angola its

floodplain provides grazing for cattle, as well as some seasonal cultivation.

KUNENE. River and province. The Kunene rises in the Bié Plateau not far from Huambo and flows southward across the Hufla Plateau, until at the Ruancana Falls it turns sharply westward, forming the border between Angola and Namibia. Historically important for cultivation in an arid region, the Kunene also has a large hydroelectric potential since its bed drops a mile in altitude from source to Atlantic.

KUNENE RIVER HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT. An agreement to harness the waters of the Kunene River for power and irrigation was first concluded in 1926, when the Portuguese delineated the southern border in treaties with South Africa. The total project, which includes 27 dams and power stations, was designed to increase the area under irrigation in southwestern Angola dramatically, as well as provide for a vast transmission grid to carry power to Angola, Namibia, and South Africa.

The first phase of development was agreed upon in 1969, and by the time of Angolan independence, the largely South African-financed project included partially finished dams at Gove, Matla, Matunto, Calueque and Ruancana Falls. Three of five generators had been completed at the latter by 1978. However, the Angolan government refused to deal with South Africa over completion and power deliveries, preferring to wait to deal with an independent Namibia.

Thus the Kunene River scheme has been a major political issue in the area. Dams and other facilities have been sabotaged by UNITA in the ongoing civil conflict. In 1990 Gove Dam was feared in danger of collapse from sabotage damage. The hydroelectric projects have also been the subject of econom-

ic and environmental criticism, since they would flood much of the traditional grazing land of the region, having been designed to serve modern industries and large-scale agribusinesses, which might be of dubious benefit to area people.

KUNZIKA, EMMANUEL MAYALA (1925-). This Zombo nationalist leader was born near Maquela do Zombo. His parents emigrated to Belgian Congo when he was 11, and he was mainly educated in Kinshasa (Leopoldville), where he subsequently obtained employment and became associated with the Tokoist church.

Kunzika became active in Zombo political organizations, becoming successively Vice-President of ALIAZO and FNLA/GRAE. Within the latter organization he was a moderating influence, a voice for including a wider Angolan representation in the front. He especially spoke in behalf of French-speaking Angolans who, like himself, had been raised in Zaire (Belgian Congo). He became GRAE Minister of Education, and organized a primary school for children of Angolan refugees in Kinshasa.

Kunzika waged a constant struggle against Holden Roberto's dictatorial style of leadership within FNLA/GRAE. As a consequence in 1972, when Roberto purged the party ranks, Kunzika was dismissed and retired from active politics, remaining in Zaire.

KWANDO-KUBANGO. [Cuando-Cubango]. This province in southeast Angola borders Zambia and Namibia. It is home to scattered populations of Ambo, Herero and Nkhumbi people. Most of the inhabitants raise cattle for a living in semi-arid lands remote from the modernizing influences of urban Angola. Although the capital, Menongue, is linked to the coast by the Namibe Railway, military operations for both Angolan and Namibian-related conflicts have been the source of

most contact with the wider world, especially since the late 1970s.

KWANGO RIVER. A major Zaire tributary flowing northward through eastern Mbundu. Several major Mbundu kingdoms, notably Matamba and Kasanje, were located on Kwango affluents. As a result this area was historically a very important regional commercial and political center.

KWANYAMA. People and state. The most southeasterly of the Ambo peoples in Angola, these pastoralists were historically identified with a state of the same name. Prosperity was based on the hunting and grazing grounds of the Kuvelai River flood plain, and on local trade in iron, copper, and salt. After 1770 the Kwanyama and their neighbors were increasingly drawn into the Atlantic-zone trade in slaves and ivory.

The kingdom of Kwanyama was the largest in the Namibe hinterland in the period 1870-1915. Under its last ruler, Mandume, Kwanyama fiercely resisted the Portuguese colonial advance. They were not finally overcome and fully incorporated into Angola until 1915. See also AMBO; MANDUME.

KWANZA. In January, 1977 Angola broke its link with the Portuguese currency area and issued its own currency, the kwanza (1 kwanza = 100 lwei). The kwanza was declared nonconvertible in the international market by the Angolan government and was not quoted on international exchanges. During the eighties a brisk black market in currency developed. Economic reforms accompanying political liberalization in the nineties will doubtless include new currency measures designed to facilitate international trade and domestic rebuilding, as well as cut down on illegal transactions.

KWANZA RIVER. The Kwanza River rises in the Central Highlands and flows north and west to reach the Atlantic Ocean about 30 miles south of Luanda. The river has been important historically for several reasons. First, the river valley has provided basic food supplies to the drier, poorer coastal regions. Second, traditionally it has been a corridor for migration and trade to and from the coast. A line of forts along or near the river marked the advance of the *conquista* into Mbundu. Third, the river is navigable as far as the Cambambe Falls, 120 miles upstream, and this is now the site of a hydroelectric scheme that provides power for the capital. See CAMBAMBE.

KWANZA NORTH. Province. Kwanza North and the adjoining Kwanza South and Malanje provinces, are home to most of the rural Mbundu peoples of Angola. Most of this area was within the old *conquista* and thus has been subject to Portuguese commercial and cultural influences for a long time. Coffee is a major crop here, which, along with cash crops elsewhere in Angola, suffered steep output declines from the chronic warfare of the eighties.

KWANZA SOUTH. Province.

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LABOR. See CONTRATADOS; FORCED LABOR; MASS ORGANIZATIONS; SERVIÇÃES; SLAVERY; SLAVE TRADE.

LANGUAGES. Portuguese is the official language of the People's Republic of Angola. However, more than 95 percent of Angolans speak one of several related languages of the Bantu family as a mother tongue. Under

colonial rule use of indigenous languages in schools and public settings was discouraged, while Portuguese language and culture were promoted as superior. However, since independence the question of indigenous languages has become an important one. The MPLA First Party Congress established the Institute for National Languages to carry out a program of research and development focusing on the six major African languages: umBundu, kiMbundu, kiKongo, Mbunda (an Ngangela variant), Chokwe, and Oxi-kwanyama (an Ambo variant).

Primary education is begun in the regional language, with Portuguese being introduced later. Oral traditions in indigenous tongues are being collected and preserved, while folk arts in local languages are also being encouraged. There are regional radio broadcasts in local languages, and adult literacy programs are conducted in local tongues.

However, the Portuguese language remains important. It is the language of government, national media, and the most important of international connections--namely those tying Angola to the other Portuguese-speaking countries of the world. From a language standpoint the most important of these is Brazil, the major supplier of television programming and popular publications to the Lusophone world. See also LUSOPHONE AFRICA.

LARA, LUCIO (1929-). The son of a wealthy Afro-Portuguese sugar planter from Huambo, Lucio Lara was a founder of the MPLA and remains one of its leading intellectuals. A Marxist, Lara was a key figure in the development of the movement and of the party, especially in his work as an organizer. In the early history of the MPLA he was a leader of the exile community, representing the movement at international gatherings along with others, such as Viriato da Cruz and Mário de Andrade. In 1960 Lara opened the MPLA's Cona-

kry office and in 1962 he was elected to the Executive Committee at the first party conference in Leopoldville. He became responsible for organization and for training cadres.

In September, 1974 Lara was elected to the MPLA's Politburo and Central Committee, and in November, 1974 he led the MPLA delegation into Luanda. During the Neto era he was the MPLA's Secretary-General and was often referred to as the president's "right-hand man."

Widely regarded as the regime's number two at the time of dos Santos's election, Lara was among the veterans of Neto's presidency who have fared badly under dos Santos. His position became shaky in 1982 when his wife, Ruth, and his adopted son were held briefly because of their involvement in the Costa de Andrade Ndunduma play attacking the "Afro-Nationalists." The 1985 Second MPLA Congress dropped him from the Politburo and stripped him of his post as party Organization Secretary. In 1986, he took the minor post of Secretary of the People's Assembly. He is considered to be the dean of the party's Marxist-Leninist old guard.

LATER IRON AGE. By about the year 1000 metal-using farmers in Angola had developed their settled way of life to the point that one can speak of a transition archaeologically from Early to Later Iron Age. Improved tools and a diet incorporating Asian as well as African-origin crops led to the spread of farming communities into all the better-watered regions, while cattle-keeping occupied peoples of the more arid south. Hunting continued to be an important skill in both. Iron and copper were worked into a variety of tools and ornaments. Although exchange was still predominantly a household business, markets had developed to link specialized producers of raw materials and manufactured goods from salt to palm cloth.

By about 1400 societies of Angola had acquired many aspects of their present-day culture and spoke languages recognizably ancestral to those of their modern descendants. Some societies experimented with new political forms. The scale of social management grew along with the population in the better-favored regions such as Kongo and Mbundu. Elders, priests and chiefs combined economic, social and spiritual powers to create authority structures which reached beyond the boundaries of household and lineage. Small states appeared even though most power resided in the localized, territorially-based lineages whose relations constituted the fabric of social life.

LEOPOLDIAN NEOLITHIC. General term for early food-producing cultures of Angola derived from a type site in the area of Kinshasa in modern Zaire, which recent radiocarbon dating places in the 5th through 3rd centuries BCE. Techniques of food production based on yam cultivation, along with a more sedentary lifestyle and new technologies, especially polished stone tools and pottery, were used here. It seems reasonably certain that these pioneer cultivators spoke Bantu-related languages. This Neolithic technology slowly moved through favorable forest environments from its original home in what is now the Nigeria-Cameroons border area into similar environments in western Angola.

LIGA AFRICANA. See **EARLY NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES**.

LIGA ANGOLANA. See **EARLY NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES**; **LIGA NACIONAL AFRICANA**.

LIGA NACIONAL AFRICANA. Founded in 1929-30 in Luanda, this was the heir to the previously purged Liga Angolana. It was led mainly by Luanda-born, middle-class, Catholic *assimilados*. If its activities and

goals were limited by government interference, it kept alive the tradition of nationalist protest--through petitions, reports, literature, and the like--from the 1930s through the 1950s. By the latter period young, militant nationalists had broken away to found their own clandestine groups, one of which was MPLA. See also EARLY NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES.

LINEAGE. This is the currently most commonly used name for the fundamental kin-based units of social organization among African societies in Angola. Some older texts used the word clan to mean the same thing that is now usually indicated by lineage. Lineages are descent groups made up of all the people whose social identity is traced back to a single known ancestor. In Angola most lineages are formed by reference to a female ancestor, through the female line. They are thus classed as matrilineages, and system of classifying, as matrilineal. Lineages are named, corporate bodies with a life of their own, which transcends the lives of individual members.

Historically lineage membership determined social identity and status. Lineages owned land, people, and political titles. Relationships between lineages maintained by complex intergenerational marriage alliances dominated local politics virtually everywhere, while title-holding lineages dominated politics at the state level, especially in Mbundu. There elaborate genealogies maintained by specialist historians kept track of the hierarchical relations between office holders over time. See also SEGMENTARY STATES.

LITERATURE. As is the case in most of Africa, orality has historically dominated communications systems in Angola. However, because of the early influence of European peoples and institutions, written communication played a significant role historically. Literacy became important not only in commercial and bureau-

cratic circles in the early colony, but also in the neighboring Catholic Kongo as well. However, before the 19th century, very little, if any Angolan writing could be classed as literature, much less as a uniquely Angolan variety. In fact scholars now argue that modern Angolan literature began only in 1850 with the publication, in Luanda, of a book of verse by the Afro-Portuguese author, José da Silva Maia Ferreira. His work was the first published creative writing rooted specifically in African experience.

The first generation of modern Angolan writers were mostly *mestiço*, although both Portuguese-born and African authors had appeared by the 1880s. Most were journalists who also wrote poetry, short stories, or novels. The most important of the African authors in this early period was the poet and ethnologist Joaquim Dias Cordeiro da Mata, who had been encouraged in his use of Mbundu materials by the Swiss Protestant missionary Heli Chatelain.

Several journals and literary magazines, as well as literary columns in general papers edited by members of the developing literary community, appeared before the turn of the century. Among these was the African-and-Afro-Portuguese-edited *Echo de Angola*, founded in 1881, which along with others of the time printed stories protesting abuses by officials and denials of rights to Africans.

With the tightening of colonial rule around the turn of the century, educated Angolans who had been in positions of cultural leadership were squeezed out of the literary establishment. As a result, a colonial-settler rather than an Angolan point of view prevailed into the 1930s. In 1935, however, Ant3nio de Assis Junior restored the African course of Angolan literature with the publication of his novel, *O Segredo da Morta*. His work, along with that of Tomas Vieira da Cruz and Castro Soromenho, emphasized again an African perspective. Soromenho's novels in particular showed

Africans and *mestiços* not only as victims of colonial violence but also as a potentially irrepressible force against it.

A new era was foreshadowed by poems that appeared in the Portuguese journal *Cultura* during 1945-1951. Among the contributors was Agostinho Neto. This new, frankly political direction became clear with the founding in 1948 of the Movement of Young Angolan Intellectuals, whose members assumed responsibility for reshaping the country culturally (and politically) with the battle cry "Let us discover Angola!" They carried out their intentions first through pages of the mimeographed *Antologia dos Novos Poetas de Angola* (1950), then through the review *Mensagem* (Luanda, 1951-1952). Prominent leaders of the MPLA figured in its pages, such as Neto, Viriato da Cruz, António Jacinto, Humberto da Silva, Mário António and Mário Pinto de Andrade. Andrade also compiled several important anthologies of African poetry in Portuguese. This circle coined the term "angolidade" ("Angolanity") to express their aesthetic and social loyalty to mother Africa.

After *Mensagem* was suppressed by the fascist government of dictator António Oliveira de Salazar, the momentum was kept up by the review *Cultura* in its second phase (1957-1961), and also by the *Jornal de Angola* (1953-1965). The list of principal contributors reads like a *Who's Who* of contemporary Angolan writers, including Costa Andrade, Henrique Abran-ches, "Benudia" (Mário Lopes Guerra), António Jacinto and (José) Luandino Vieira. Vieira is particularly important because he developed a writing style derived from the Portuguese-Kimbundu spoken in the *musseques* of Luanda.

In the repressive climate of the postwar Portuguese empire a third magazine played a significant role in continuing the process of creating an authentically national Angolan literature. This was the other *Men-*

sagem, the Lisbon voice of students from the Portuguese colonial territories, published from 1949 to 1965 by their organization, the Casa dos Estudantes do Império. It became the cultural and political focus for African, predominantly Angolan, students and exiled intellectuals in Portugal. This community was also behind the 1953 publication of *Poesia negra de expressão portuguesa*, the first work of its kind to gain general circulation in the Lusophone world.

This publication effort was intensified in the early sixties with the appearance of a series of collected works by overseas authors under the title *Autores Ultramarinos*. This series offered numerous poets and short-story writers an opportunity to reach Portuguese readers, who still were largely uninformed about African culture. In this period a second publishing center was established in the Angolan city of Lubango under the name Publicações Imbondeiro (1961-1964). Although it was directed by two Portuguese writers, it played a significant role in stimulating an African-oriented Angolan literature through the publication of anthologies and a series of monthly cultural booklets.

With the mid-sixties intensification of the struggle for national liberation in Angola, the Portuguese government took massive civil and military retaliatory measures. Some writers were forced into exile or intimidated into silence; others were imprisoned; while some escaped and joined the armed struggle. A pervasive censorship was imposed. In 1964 Imbondeiro was forced to stop issuing its booklets. In 1965 the Casa dos Estudantes was closed. Even the writers' society in Portugal was closed down because it dared to give its top literary prize to the imprisoned Luandino Vieira for his novel *Luuanda*.

It was only in the early seventies under the more liberal regime of Salazar's successor, Marcelo Caetano, that it again became possible to undertake fresh publishing ventures. Poets and short-story writ-

ers found an outlet in the "Artes e Letras" supplement of *A Província de Angola* (Luanda), and through ventures such as *Capricórnio*, a collection which appeared at Lobito from 1972 to 1975. The scope of literature continued to broaden through the work of poets like David Mestre, as well as prose fiction writers, like Manuel Rui, Pepetela, and Manuel Pedro Pacavira.

Despite this thaw, it was only after the April, 1974 revolution in Portugal that Angolan writers were finally free to concentrate fully on the immense task of cultural decolonization and national reconstruction. The first sign of new life appeared in December 1974, with the single issue of the review *Ngoma*, edited by Joao-Maria Vilanova, who had astonished literary circles with the publication of *Vinte canções para Ximinha* in 1971. The new literary era officially began on December 10, 1975, with the inauguration of the Union of Angolan Writers (União dos Escritores de Angola: UEA) at a session chaired by President Agostinho Neto, himself a leading poet as well as MPLA founding father. In his opening speech Neto claimed all Angolan writers as MPLA members. Although this was not the case, it was true that there was an extraordinarily strong link between Angolan writers and political activism, particularly associated with MPLA. From 1975 until 1991 at least, in order to be published in Angolan one had to be affiliated with the UEA, a quasi-governmental organization in a one-party state.

The UEA has become the principal vehicle for the development of an independent Angolan literature through the writings of its members, but also through its efforts to encourage new authors and reach a wider Angolan audience. See also CULTURE; EDUCATION; MEDIA; ASSIS; CHATELAIN; JACINTO; MATA; NETO; SOROMENHO; UNIÃO DES ESCRITORES DE ANGOLA.

LOANGO. Northernmost of three major trading kingdoms located north of the Zaire River, along with Kakongo and Ngoyo (modern Cabinda). Loango prospered during the era of the transatlantic slave trade. From the 17th through the late 18th centuries Dutch, and then French and British, merchants congregated on the Loango coast, drawing valuable slaves from the interior of Angola as well as the rest of the vast West Central African area. This independent trade was a thorn in the side of Portuguese officials and Lisbon merchants at Luanda, but despite sporadic diplomatic and naval campaigns they could do nothing to stem the flow of slaves and goods from Matamba and beyond. See also CABINDA; KONGO; KONGO KINGDOM; VILI.

LOBITO. Lobito is the third largest city in Angola, behind Luanda and Huambo. It was founded in 1843 and the harbor works begun in 1903. The completion of the Benguela Railway in 1929 was a major stimulus to urban growth. It is the Atlantic terminal for rail traffic from Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

Lobito has the finest natural harbor on the Angola coast. A sandspit (*restinga*) forms a natural breakwater behind which lies a harbor three miles long and one-and-one-half miles wide. In terms of the volume of trade, Lobito is Angola's busiest port. It is also a growing industrial center.

LOJE RIVER. Flowing westward from the Kongo Highlands to a point just north of Ambriz, the Loje marked the effective border between Angola and coastal Kongo from 1855 to about World War I. From the early 18th to the mid-19th centuries Ambriz was a major terminus of the interior slave trade from Ndembu, Matamba and the trans-Kwango. It was nominally a part of the Kongo Kingdom, effectively under an autonomous province of Mbamba.

LUANDA. National capital. It was officially claimed as a Portuguese dependency by Paulo Dias de Novães in 1576, near the site of the Kongo royal shell fisheries, which were already being used for trade by Afro-Portuguese merchants from São Tomé. Luanda became the center of colonial administration and the main base for Portuguese activities in Angola after the Crown took it over in 1589. Only from 1641 to 1648, when the Dutch held Luanda, did the government operate outside of it--in Massangano.

Historically, Luanda was not only the center of Portuguese rule, but also the international commercial center for the region. It was a major entrepôt in the export of African slaves to Brazil. The Brazilian slave trade was so important to the Portuguese Empire that Angolan interests were always subordinated to those of the larger American colony. Luanda was home, not only to almost all resident Europeans, but also to an often larger population of Afro-Portuguese, Kongo and Mbundu, slave and free. Over the centuries as a colonial city, it developed a distinctive creole culture which reflected the lifestyle and interests of the substantial Afro-Portuguese community.

The fortunes of the city were tied to those of Portugal and the Atlantic trade. When both of these declined, at first in response to Brazilian independence, and then to the ending of the slave trade itself, the city was at a low ebb--economically and culturally. It revived with the colonial build-up of the late 19th century, but during the whole of the modern colonial era it was to be dominated by metropolitan interests at the expense of indigenous Afro-Portuguese ones.

Luanda's demographic development was slow until 1940, when the population was only 61,000. However, by 1970 a combination of European and rural African immigration had swelled the population to the half-million mark. Since 1970 the population of the metropolitan region is estimated to have tripled as

thousands of refugees from rural warfare have sought safety and work in the capital.

In the 20th century the lower part of the city toward the sea (the *baixa*) was developed as a European business area, and Africans were cleared out. They came to live in vast shantytowns (*musseques*) on hills around the city center.

Luanda is a beautifully situated city with all the facilities of a major urban area, including an international airport and a major rail link to Malanje. It is the second-largest seaport of Angola, with coffee, cotton, and diamonds being the chief exports. It is also a growing industrial center. The central government's administrative facilities are all located in Luanda. It has the main campus of the national university and a Roman Catholic Archdiocese, and is the national media and cultural center, providing radio, television, plays, books and newspapers to the country. See also MUSSEQUES.

LUANDA. Province and region. The Luanda metropolitan area has grown so much in the last few years that it has been split into two provinces. The outlying areas of the old Luanda region are now included in the separate Bengo province.

LUANDA ISLAND. Now a part of the city of Luanda. The shallow waters off the island were the source of shells used for currency in the ancient Kongo Kingdom. The site was thus of regional importance from the rise of Kongo. It attracted Portuguese interest in the 16th century, but remained under Kongo control until the late 17th century.

LUBANGO. This town on the Hufla Plateau was founded in 1885 as a center for Portuguese settlers from Madeira. It was named Sá da Bandeira after a prominent Portuguese colonial thinker and writer. Situated at about

6,000 feet, Sá da Bandeira was a favorite place for white settlement, developing in the 20th century as the main administrative, commercial, military, educational, and religious center of southern Angola. Problems of communication with Namibe through the mountainous Chela escarpment were largely solved with the construction of the Namibe Railway, which reached the town in 1923.

Modern Lubango is both a cultural and administrative center for the south. It has a campus of the University of Angola, and has been a focus of government efforts to create a sense of national cultural identity. It was also the target of military campaigns in the 1980s, and suffered economically as a result.

LUKOKI, AMBROSIO. Of Kongo background, Lukoki emerged as an important figure in the MPLA-PT in the 1980s. In 1981 Lukoki moved from the position of Education Secretary to that of MPLA Central Committee Secretary for Ideology. As ideology chief he led a controversial antireligious campaign that failed. In December, 1982, however, he was disgraced by the Central Committee for allowing the production of Costa de Andrade Ndunduma's controversial play attacking the "Afro-Nationalists." The failure of the antireligion campaign may have been a factor as well.

LUNDA. Most people of the once-great Lunda nation live in modern Zaire. However, the Lunda spill over national boundaries, and are found in significant numbers in most of eastern Angola, particularly in the provinces of Lunda North, Lunda South, and Moxico. People in this ethnolinguistic category are often grouped with the Chokwe, who speak a closely related language, and with whose history they have been intertwined since the middle of the last century.

The Lunda were a major force in the history of Angola, particularly between the mid-18th and mid-

19th centuries, when the Lunda Empire was the center of a vast commercial network, ultimately linking merchants from both Indian and Atlantic Ocean coasts. In Angola, the modern Chokwe, Mbundu, and Ovimbundu are among those whose long involvement in trade led to their being significantly influenced by Lunda immigrants and ideas.

Lunda were the main inland source of slaves for the Atlantic trade. When the slave trade declined and ended in the mid-19th century, the neighboring Chokwe used their elephant-hunting and raiding skills to move rapidly into the Lunda sphere. Chokwe expansion finally led to their sack of the Lunda capital in 1885. The intermingling of Lunda and Chokwe during this period has resulted in the modern cultural-linguistic blend which characterizes much of northeastern Angola. See also CHOKWE; IMBANGALA.

LUNDA NORTH. Province. Together with Lunda South, these most northeasterly of Angolan provinces are home to mainly Lunda-Chokwe peoples. The economy of the region is dominated by the site of a very large diamond-mining complex, developed in the modern colonial era by the concessionary company DIAMANG.

LUNDA SOUTH. Province.

LUSO-AFRICAN. See AFRO-PORTUGUESE.

LUSOPHONE AFRICA. Term which is used to distinguish the five African countries whose official language is Portuguese: Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Cape Verde. The term Lusophone is also more broadly used to include all Portuguese-speaking countries, of which Brazil is the most important. A common language and common historical experience, however fragmented, tie together the

diverse peoples of the Lusophone world. Representatives of Lusophone African countries, calling themselves simply "The Five," meet regularly to promote cooperation at several levels: cultural, economic, and political.

LUSO-TROPICALISM. A theory made famous by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, which held that the Portuguese were particularly adept at adapting to life in the tropical regions and to the culture of indigenous inhabitants of those areas. Cross-cultural marriage and acculturation were said to have produced an especially harmonious, multiracial society in the Lusophone world. The mystique and rhetoric of luso-tropicalism were used extensively by defenders of Portuguese colonialism in the 20th century, but the theory was much derided by Portugal's critics.

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MALANJE. [Malange]. Situated about 200 miles east of Luanda, Malanje was one of the colonial outposts founded at the beginning of Portugal's post-slave-trade expansion in the middle of the 19th century. It developed as an important *feira* and staging post, especially on the Luanda-Kasanje route.

Modern Malanje is still a regional commercial and transport center. It is located in an important cotton and coffee growing area, and is linked to Luanda by both rail and road.

MALANJE PLATEAU. Also known as the Amboim Highlands, these are the uplands south and east of Luanda. Home to Mbundu people, the soil and climatic conditions support an agricultural economy. Coffee is the major cash crop in modern times.

MANDUME. He was ruler of the Ambo state of Kwanyama from 1911 to 1917. He became a symbol of resistance in southern Angola to the advancing European forces, both Portuguese and German. Defeated by the Portuguese in 1915, Mandume fled into Namibia (Southwest Africa), where he was killed by a South African force in 1917. See also KWANYAMA.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS. As soon as it was able to establish itself in liberated areas in Angola, the MPLA, like the other liberation movements, established various associated organizations designed to serve and establish support in the local communities. Among these were organizations geared to providing health services and refugee aid, as well as those designed to organize and educate the population in ways sympathetic to the guerrillas. The latter category included organizations of students, trade unionists, youth, and women.

Since independence health and refugee services have been taken over by the government, while party-sponsored mass organizations have been expanded, at least in theory, to draw from Angolans in every part of the country. In fact, these organizations have had quite different levels of impact in the last 15 years. The trade union movement has been revived somewhat only since the mid-eighties, after having been more active in theory than in fact. Youth organizations have become major vehicles for recruiting party members in areas of the country sympathetic to the MPLA government. One of the most active of the contemporary movements, from a truly mass standpoint, is the OMA, which has attracted a strong leadership that has mobilized concern for women's issues and linked the movement with international women's networks as well. See also ORGANIZAÇÃO DAS MULHERES DE ANGOLA; WOMEN.

MASSANGANO. Situated about 110 miles from the coast east of Luanda at the confluence of the Lukala and Kwanza Rivers, this *presídio* was founded by Dias de Novães in 1583 during his military advance to the east. Massangano was probably most important to the *conquista* in the period 1641-48, when it became the temporary capital of the colony while the Dutch occupied Luanda.

MATA, JOAQUIM DIAS CORDEIRO DA (1857-94). A native of the Luanda area, Cordeiro da Mata was among the earliest and most important of *assimilado* African intellectuals to envision Angolan nationalism in terms of Angolan culture and values. He collected folk materials of the region, and made an intensive study of Kimbundu. His voluminous writings include a collection of over 700 Mbundu proverbs and riddles (1891), a Kimbundu grammar (1892), and a Kimbundu-Portuguese dictionary (1893). He also wrote several historical essays, short stories, and poetry.

MATAMBA. [Jinga]. A historically important Mbundu kingdom, situated west of the middle Kwango River in eastern Ndongo, between Kongo and Lunda territory. Matamba's wealth and power were built up under the rule of the brilliant Queen Njinga, who took over from more traditionally minded rulers in the mid-17th century.

Together with its southern neighbor, Kasanje, it held a key position on the slave-trade routes from Lunda to the west-coast markets. In the 18th and 19th centuries Matamba (usually called "Jinga" in contemporary sources) directed much of its trade to ports north of the Zaire River which were rivals to that of Luanda. Matamban relations with the *conquista* government fluctuated between a usual, if uneasy, peace and sporadic attempts by Luanda to use direct intervention to achieve commercial control. It was only in

the early 20th century, however, that military action succeeded in bringing "Jinga" under colonial rule. See also NJINGA.

MATOS, JOSÊ MENDES RIBEIRO NORTON DE (1867-1955). Norton de Matos was the reforming, republican Governor-General and High Commissioner of Angola in 1912-15 and again in 1921-24. He began his career as an army officer, serving in Goa (the Portuguese enclave in India) for 10 years. After 1910 his republican sympathies gained him promotion, and then the appointment as Governor-General of Angola in 1912. He was a powerful and energetic figure whose colonial policies were particularly influential in shaping the modern colony.

In his first term as Governor-General he attacked residual forms of slavery and attempted to regularize the contractual system of labor; he set up a Bureau of Native Affairs; he initiated administrative reform, replacing military commands with civilian administrative units; and he initiated a program of road-building and railroad and telegraph development.

In 1921 Norton de Matos was again appointed head of the Angolan government. His new title of High Commissioner reflected the trend toward decentralization of authority that was in vogue at the time. The emphasis of this administration was the extension of Portuguese control and the unification of the colony. Thus, he continued the conquest of Angola, especially in the eastern districts; he moved against Boer, German, and foreign-mission influence; he ruled that schools must use only Portuguese; he crushed African nationalist organizations and cracked down on freedom of the press; and he encouraged white settlement as a key to the spread of Portuguese influence. He also sanctioned a costly public-works program, laying the foundation of Angola's modern road network.

Norton de Matos wrote several influential books in which he set forth his colonial philosophy. His ambitious projects also left the colony in debt, thus contributing to the deepening of the forced labor system.

MAVINGA. This southwestern Angolan town lies just between the FAPLA air base at Cuito Cuanavale and UNITA's capital at Jamba and was the site of several battles in the 1980s. In 1985 a major battle took place there in which only the timely intervention of South African forces kept FAPLA from defeating UNITA and seizing Jamba. Mavinga also was the site of major but ultimately indecisive battles in 1987 and 1990.

MBAILUNDU. [Bailundo, Bailundu]. The northernmost of several important Ovimbundu kingdoms located in the Central Highlands. These kingdoms had their roots in earlier area kingdoms founded by warrior elites connected with the late-16th-century Imbangala movement, itself a result of the fusion of existing Lunda and Ovimbundu military institutions. During the 17th century Imbangala-descended warlords ruled Mbailundu from hilltop fortresses. They supported themselves by raiding, and protected their dependents from the raids of neighbors.

After 1680 Mbailundu was involved with traders from Luanda and Benguela who did business by establishing marriage ties with women of the local aristocracy. The expanding demand for slaves paid for the importation of rifles--which, in turn, fueled regional rivalries, warfare and a boom in exportable captives. Merchants enriched in the process sought to advance their interests, which by 1750 were already in conflict with those of the ruling military.

In the 1760s Mbailundu rulers countered by turning to French traders for support, but in 1773 local mercantile interests allied with Afro-Portuguese per-

suaded Luanda to launch a military expedition which succeeded in replacing the military dynasty with more commercially oriented elites. These rulers used the ensuing domestic peace and their commercial connections to rebuild populations and promote agriculture with women imported as slaves from elsewhere. By the early 19th century a strong Mbailundu was taking the offensive against *conquista* settlements along a front from Ambaka to Benguela.

The expansion of the rubber trade in the 1890s and the Portuguese settler-induced weakness of Viye allowed Mbailundu to emerge as the most important Ovimbundu state at the end of the 19th century. Mbailundu is particularly noted for its determined resistance to Portuguese expansion at the beginning of the 20th century. The "Bailundu Revolt" of 1902-1904 united many Central Highlands Africans irrespective of ethnic affiliation. It was only ended by a major Portuguese military expedition, which defeated the allies and opened up the Central Highlands to white settlement.

Although the kingdom ceased to exist formally fairly early in the 20th century, descendants of the old aristocracy can still be found in positions of leadership, for example, in Christian churches. Also, modern social relations reflect some continuity between those with wealthier ancestors and those who are better off today. See also IMBANGALA; LUNDA; OVIMBUNDU; VIYE.

MBANZA KONGO. [São Salvador]. Situated on high ground some 100 miles south of the Zaire River and about 200 miles from the west coast in the Zaire district of modern Angola, Mbanza Kongo [in kiKongo, "the city of Kongo"] was the capital of the Kongo kingdom and the seat of government of the *Mwene Kongo*. It was probably founded on captured Mpangala territory in 1400-1425 by *Mwene Kongo* Nimi a Lukeni. During the period of the Christian kingdom, from the reign of

Afonso I (1506-1543) until the advent of the RPA, Mbanza Kongo was known as São Salvador. See also KONGO KINGDOM.

MBUNDU. The Mbundu of north-central Angola are principally located in the provinces of Luanda, Bengo, Malanje, and North and South Kwanza. They make up the second-largest ethnolinguistic category in Angola, with about 25 percent of the population. They speak varieties of kiMbundu, which has developed two major subdivisions: aMbundu or awkaLuanda in the west and Ambakista in the east. Several subgroups corresponding to historic geopolitical divisions are: Ambundu, Kisama, Libolo, Hako, Ndembu, Hungu, Jinga, Mbondo, Songo and Imgangala.

In the 16th century, at the time of the founding of the Portuguese settlement at Luanda, the Mbundu were mainly agriculturalists, craftsmen, and traders living in the higher country to the east and south. Politically they were organized into a variety of kingdoms, the largest of which was that of the *Ngola a Kiluanje* centered in Ndongo. The combined commercial-military onslaught of the Portuguese and their Imbangala allies caused the collapse of many established states, such as that of the *ngola*, and the development of several new kingdoms, among them Matamba and Kasanje, the prosperity of which was based on slave exports. By the mid-17th century much of western Mbundu had become a part of the *conquista*. As a result, the Portuguese impact was more profound in this region than in any other area of Angola.

During the 19th century the new export demand for items like sugar and coffee and the expansion of colonial society brought such problems as land alienation and forced labor to the Mbundu earlier than to other Angolans.

Culturally, interaction with the Portuguese over several centuries produced a variety of Afro-

Portuguese expressions, from the almost totally Portuguese-assimilated urbanites to the rural speakers of Ambakista, who absorbed most of the foreign elements into their own framework. In the history of 20th-century nationalism Afro-Portuguese and Mbundu *assimilados* played a key role, particularly in Luanda. They provided the main ethnic base for MPLA. A majority of the party's leadership have been of Mbundu background. See also AMBAKISTAS; IMBANGALA; KASANJE; LUANDA; MATAMBA; MPLA; NDONGO; NGOLA A KILUANJE.

MBWILA. Settlement and district in *Ndembu* country. Along with neighboring Mbwela, it was an important market center from the 1720s through most of the 19th century. Mbwila gained its fame, however, because it was the site of the decisive battle fought between Kongo and Portuguese armies on October 29, 1665, which ended in a crushing defeat for Kongo. See also AN-TÓNIO I; KONGO KINGDOM; NDEMBU.

MEDIA. Major Angolan media services, including the press, publishing, radio and television are government controlled, directly or through parastatal companies and government-related organizations such as the Angolan Writers Union.

There is one national distribution newspaper, *O Jornal de Angola*, with a circulation of about 40,000. *Novembro* is a monthly news magazine, while *Lavra e Oficina* ("Work and Business") is the somewhat unlikely name of the principal literary magazine. There are also a few regional newspapers and specialized periodicals. A small publishing industry produces government pamphlets and works by Angolan authors, but most books are imported from Brazil or Portugal.

Radio Nacional de Angola broadcasts in four European and nine African languages to listeners on more than 500,000 radios nationwide. About one tenth

as many television sets carry the broadcasts of Televisão Popular de Angola. There is a small television and film production industry. However, the major producer of television programming for the Lusophone world is Brazil; most feature films shown in Luanda theaters are of European or American origin, with subtitles.

The government publishes the daily *Diário da República* in Luanda, while ANGOP, the Angolan news agency, produces an English-language daily report out of London. China, USSR, Cuba, France, Germany and Italy maintain press offices in Luanda.

Significant loosening of government constraints on reporting and publications, as well as legalization of opposition radio broadcasting have taken place since the peace settlement of 1991.

MENONGUE. Founded in the 19th century as Serpa Pinto, this regional administrative center is the capital of Kwando-Kubango province in the southern part of the country. It is also the terminus of a rail line reaching inland from Namibe.

MESTIÇO. A Portuguese word meaning the offspring of a racially mixed union. Most *mestiços* are urban dwellers, with Portuguese either as a first or second language. With some exceptions *mestiços* have tended historically to identify with Portuguese culture. Leaders in the colonial sector throughout the early colonial era, they felt betrayed by the loss of status attendant upon the imposition of modern colonial rule in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Squeezed by the influx at that time of Europeans into the upper echelons of the colony, the *mestiços* organized to voice their opposition and stress their right to a status equivalent to that of whites. Only occasionally did *mestiço* intellectuals raise their voices on behalf of the African population before World War

II. Thus, despite the involvement of *mestiços* in the anticolonial struggle beginning in the 1950s, and their very important role in the upper reaches of the MPLA, significant segments of the African population have tended to resent and dislike them. See also AFRO-PORTUGUESE; ASSIMILADO; EARLY NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES; LITERATURE; MPLA.

MINGAS, SAYDI (1942-1977). A member of a leading Cabindan family, Saydi Mingas studied at an industrial school in Luanda and in Lisbon. He joined MPLA in the mid-1960s and had a varied career. In 1970 he studied agriculture and economic planning in Cuba and took military training; from 1971 to 1972 he directed cadre training in eastern Angola; in 1972 he was MPLA representative in Sweden.

Mingas became a member of the MPLA Central Committee in September, 1974, and in January, 1975 he was appointed to represent MPLA on Angola's Transitional Government as Minister of Finance and Planning. He was appointed Minister of Finance in November, 1975 in Neto's first government. He served until May, 1977, when he was assassinated, a victim of the abortive coup led by Nito Alves.

MIRANDA, ANTÓNIO JOAQUIM DE (1864-?). An African *assimilado* whose stint as a plantation clerk sensitized him to the plight of ordinary African workers. He turned to journalism to express his developing nationalist and republican sentiments. Between 1899 and 1910 he published *A Folha de Luanda*, *O Angolense*, and *O Apostolado do Ben*. In 1908 he left his private-sector job and continued his protests through letter-writing campaigns. He subsequently worked as a civil servant, but his increasing involvement in activities critical of the government led eventually to his exile to Cabinda in 1914.

MISSIONARIES. Christian missionaries have played a significant role in the historical development of Angola. The Portuguese considered the spread of Catholicism to be an essential part of their "civilizing mission." The earliest contacts between Europeans and Africans--with the Kongo Kingdom--included a missionary component. Jesuits settled in Mbundu in the 16th century. After the location of a see in Luanda in 1624, diocesan clergy served the needs of the *conquista*, while missionaries were those, usually belonging to specialized missionary orders, who were about the business of evangelizing unreached peoples. In practice the only concerted missionary efforts before the 19th century were in Kongo.

Until the late 19th century all missionaries were Roman Catholic, though not necessarily Portuguese. Foreign Protestants joined a new wave of foreign Catholics in the modern missionary effort, which got underway in 1866. See also **CATHOLIC MISSIONS; PROTESTANT MISSIONS.**

MOÇÂMEDES. [Mossamedes]. See **NAMIBE.**

MODERN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION. As Portugal expanded her control over Angolan lands after 1885, the government was forced to extend, reform, and reorganize the way the territory was administered. Between 1890 and 1926, while the modern boundaries were being defined through treaties with France, Belgium, Britain, Germany and South Africa, wars of conquest had to be waged to actually bring African communities under Portuguese colonial control. During this period various laws were introduced governing aspects of administration. For example, districts were created, head and hut taxes were introduced, forced labor was established, and foreign missionary activities were regulated.

In the 20th century the administrative relationship between the colony of Angola and the Portuguese metropole varied according to the prevailing philosophies and strategies of the Lisbon government. At times the Luanda administration enjoyed almost complete autonomy (for example, in 1921, when the Governor-General's title was changed to High Commissioner in recognition of his wide-ranging authority); at other times it was much more constricted in its power (for example, after 1930 with the colonial policy of the "New State"). Administrative divisions within Angola were also restructured on several occasions.

In the latter part of the colonial period the administrative system was based on the Overseas Administrative Reform laws of 1933 and modifications thereafter. Overall responsibility was vested in the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers in Lisbon, and in the Overseas Ministry, which retained ultimate power in all essential matters relating to Angola. Some degree of fiscal autonomy and administrative decentralization meant that considerable powers rested with the Governor-General in Luanda. Usually a military officer, the latter was appointed for a four-year term by the Overseas Ministry. In the tradition of the metropole there was a strong executive government, the Governor-General ruling with six secretaries, and a weak Legislative Council that met for three months of the year.

Angola was divided into districts (*distritos*), which numbered sixteen at the time of independence. Districts were subdivided into *concelhos* (townships) and *circunscrições* (for rural areas). Further administrative subdivisions included parishes (*freguesias*) and administrative posts (*postos administrativos*), the latter being administered by the *chefe de posto*, a key figure in the system of local government. Within the administrative posts African villages were grouped together under *regedores* and *sobas*.

In 1951 the status of Angola, together with that of Portugal's other African territories, was changed from that of Colony to Overseas Province. This was an attempt to symbolize the essential unity of all Portuguese lands, and thus to resist increasing international pressures for decolonization.

MODERN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS. By the 1930s repressive measures employed by the colonial government succeeded in diluting or silencing the already small, rather timid voices of the early nationalists. Portugal's neutrality meant that World War II did not have the dramatic effect in her colonies that it did elsewhere. By the 1950s, however, nationalist currents were beginning to be felt in the Lusophone African world, especially among the few students fortunate enough to go abroad for study, but also among those who had traveled more locally, and even those who just listened to the reports of others. Furthermore, anticolonial sentiment was even more widespread than nationalist. It was fueled in particular by forced labor and cultivation policies; by the influx of settlers into African lands after 1945; and by the movement of peasants into the crowded, segregated cities.

During the 1950s both anticolonial nationalism and repressive measures against it were intensifying. New nationalist groups were formed in two centers: in the Mbundu/Afro-Portuguese *assimilado* community in Luanda, and among the Angolan Kongo in Kinshasa (Leopoldville). The earliest, founded in Luanda in 1950, was the short-lived Movement of Young Intellectuals, whose literary review was suppressed after only three issues. Many in Luanda were influenced by socialist and communist ideas from Europe. Elements of the Portuguese Communist Party infiltrated the older Liga Nacional de Angola and ANANGOLA, while new Marxist-oriented groups such as PLUA (1953) were founded clandestinely. It was in Decem-

ber, 1956 that representatives of several Marxist-oriented groups got together to form MPLA.

In the meantime, in Kinshasa (Leopoldville), ethnic Kongo from Angola were forming associations promoting goals ranging from the provision of burial money for members to the restoration of the old Kongo Kingdom under UN auspices. The former goal marked the work of ASSOMIZO, the Zombo mutual-aid society, founded about 1956. The latter goal was espoused by UPNA, founded in 1954 by emigrés from Mbanza Kongo (São Salvador). Both of these associations changed within a few years of their founding. ASSOMIZO became ALIAZO, which supported an autonomous Zombo within a future Angolan federation. It also favored nonviolence. In 1958, after petitions to the UN on Kongo restoration failed, UPNA became UPA in an effort to broaden its ethnic base.

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA (MPLA). The nationalist movement which, by March of 1976, had established itself as the ruling party of an independent Angola.

According to the official party history, MPLA was founded in December, 1956 through a fusion of two smaller nationalist Marxist coalitions. MPLA developed as an urban-based movement; its main ethnic following came from the Mbundu. It also attracted *mestiço* and Portuguese Marxist support.

Much of the movement's internal organization was dismantled in 1959-1960 when the Portuguese secret police cracked down on African nationalism in Angola, arresting and imprisoning many leaders. MPLA militants fought back, and the attack on the Luanda prison on February 4, 1961, is commemorated as the beginning of the national liberation struggle by an official national holiday.

MPLA's leadership was drawn from Angolan intellectuals who had sought refuge overseas or who were studying abroad. Headquarters were opened in Conakry (1960), Kinshasa (1961) and Brazzaville (1963). The formation of the CONCP in 1961 gave MPLA a link with other socialist parties in Portuguese Africa. In 1962, at the First National Conference of MPLA in Kinshasa, Agostinho Neto, who had escaped from Portugal, succeeded Mário de Andrade as President, a position he held until his death.

During the period 1962-1974 MPLA's party-in-exile expanded its activities. Guerrilla fronts were opened up in the Uíge, Bengo, Cabinda, Moxico, Kwando-Kubango, Lunda North and South, Malanje, Bié and Kunene provinces. Among MPLA communities in exile and in liberated areas of Angola, several grassroots organizations were formed around specific community needs. These included groups active in health services and refugee relief, as well as those designed for liberation support such as the Organization of Angolan Women (OMA), and organizations of young people, students, and trade unionists. Educational services and agricultural projects were also developed. MPLA's main source of aid was the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.

A major problem at various points in MPLA's history has been factionalism caused by ideological and personal divisions. In 1963 the defection of a group led by Viriato da Cruz, which briefly joined GRAE, weakened Neto's movement and was a factor in the OAU's recognition of Holden Roberto's alliance. Another time of weakness for MPLA was in 1973-1974, when several internal revolts took place.

An effort to consolidate the movement was made in August-September 1974. In August a meeting of guerrilla leaders initiated a reorganization of MPLA's military forces, now called FAPLA. In September, 1974 an Inter-Regional Conference of

MPLA militants in Moxico appointed a 35-member Central Committee and a 10-member Politburo. These were chosen from the established leadership in exile and from among those who had moved up through the ranks of the guerrilla forces and other organizations during the liberation struggle.

In November, 1974 MPLA opened an office in Luanda and started organizing in the urban-Mbundu areas, where its traditional strength lay. MPLA participated in the Transitional Government with UNITA and FNLA, but this broke down as fighting between the rival movements escalated. By July, 1975 MPLA held Luanda, and control of the capital allowed Neto to set up the new RPA there in November, 1975 with an MPLA government and a constitution drawn up by the movement. With Cuban military support and aid from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, MPLA had established its rule throughout much of the country by March, 1976. See also MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA-PARTIDO DO TRABALHO (MPLA-PT).

MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE ANGOLA-PARTIDO DO TRABALHO (MPLA-PT). After independence, the MPLA took on the role of a ruling party in a one-party state. As such, its central purpose became the governance of the nation, a goal that required it to extend its influence from its urban and Mbundu bastions out into the countryside. The party has been somewhat more successful at governing than in expanding its ethnic and class base.

The MPLA held its First Party Congress in December, 1977, when it was reorganized as a Marxist-Leninist workers' party and renamed MPLA-PT. Its supreme body was to be the Central Committee of 90 members, directed by a Politburo of no more than 13 members. The Politburo members head various secretariats, which have often, but not always, played

a more important part in governing than the government ministries. Among the more important secretariats are those for organization, foreign relations, defense and security, and ideology. The secretariats have been reorganized often for greater efficiency. The Chairman of the MPLA is the Head of State under the Angolan constitution. The government submits to the direction of the party. The Second Party Congress took place in December, 1985; it confirmed resoundingly Eduardo dos Santos's leadership. In the leadership elections, party veterans who had at one time been possible rivals of Santos were downgraded. Younger, better-trained proteges of dos Santos were promoted. In early 1986 the party created three "super-ministries" to better manage the nation's war-ravaged economy. All were headed by these younger cadres.

During the MPLA-PT's Third Party Congress in December, 1990 the party made several dramatic decisions. The delegates pledged to create a multiparty system and to study drafting a new constitution to eliminate the central role of the party. Dos Santos's economic reform measures aimed at privatizing certain sectors and at encouraging foreign investment were approved. Finally, the congress voted to transform the ideology of the MPLA-PT from Marxist-Leninism to democratic socialism; they decided to explore joining the Socialist International.

The results of the MPLA-PT's effort to expand its ethnic base over the last decade and a half have been mixed. After years of concerted effort, the MPLA-PT has only a handful of Ovimbundu on its Central Committee and none on its Politburo. The party has been more successful in recruiting Kongo into its ranks. In 1976 the Politburo contained six Mbundu, three *mestiços*, one Kongo and one Cabinda; in 1979 it had four Mbundu, three Kongo, two Cabindans and two *mestiços*. Several former FNLA officials

of Kongo descent have been integrated into the government at all levels.

The MPLA-PT has also had problems reaching the peasantry. At its Second Congress in 1985, only 12 of the 682 delegates were peasants; half were officials; a fourth, soldiers; and the rest, workers or salaried employees.

The party also has a problem with factionalism. Since independence, an ideological and ethnic division has existed between a multiracial, internationalist and ideologically rigid tendency within the party--which has often been identified with certain *mestiços*, particularly Lucio Lara--and a more pragmatic, ethnically African "Afro-nationalist wing." This split was evident in the 1977 Alves coup attempt, and some analysts see it at play in more subtle ways in current politics. The internationalist wing is more rigidly Marxist-Leninist and is believed to be closer to Angola's socialist allies. The Afro-nationalists are thought to be pragmatic technocrats with more of an eye on the economic benefits of ties to the west. Whatever the usefulness of this analysis, it is evident that in the 10 years of the dos Santos regime young, pragmatic leaders with backgrounds in engineering and economics have risen in the MPLA-PT leadership and the older leaders, often *mestiço*, veterans of the war of independence, have gradually been removed from the party's leadership.

The question of the party's internal cohesion has recently become more relevant with the scheduling of multiparty elections for 1992 under the Lisbon Peace Accord. The party must find a way to accommodate its differences openly and democratically if it hopes to win. The most serious challenge to the party's internal stability may occur after the election, if it is forced to lead a coalition government or to act as the loyal opposition to a UNITA-led government. See also MOVIMENTO POPULAR DE LIBERTAÇÃO

DE ANGOLA (MPLA); PEACE ACCORD; POLITICAL PARTIES.

MOXICO. This large, sparsely-populated province in eastern Angola is home to a variety of peoples, including Lunda-Chokwe, Ngangela, and Nyaneka-Nkhumbi. Its long border with Zambia made it an important guerrilla theater for both MPLA and UNITA in the 1960s and 1970s. More recently it was subject to raids by South African military forces, and to continued use by UNITA in its guerrilla operations against the RPA government.

MUSSEQUES. Derived from two Kimbundu words meaning "sandy place," this is the term applied to the shantytowns built on hilly, sandy ground surrounding central Luanda. Although predominantly inhabited by Africans and Afro-Portuguese newly arrived from around the country to seek work, in the late colonial period these slums were also home to poor whites from Portugal, Madeira, and the Azores. See also MBUNDU; LUANDA.

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NAMIBE. A southern coastal city and its surrounding province which were known as Moçâmedes during the colonial era, after the colonial Governor-General Baron Moçâmedes, who sent the first Portuguese expedition to explore the region in the late 18th century. The town was founded by settlers from Brazil in 1849 near a fort which had been established in 1840. The cold Benguela current brings a cool climate to this area, which made it suitable for white settlement, according to contemporary colonial thinking.

It developed as a port, a center for the fishing industry, and a departure point for the penetration of southern Angola by European interests. Communica-

tions with the interior were much improved with the 1923 completion of a railway from Namibe to Lubango and across the Hufla Plateau to Menongue, some 500 miles inland.

NAMIBIA. Angola's southernmost neighbor, Namibia is linked to Angola both because of its long history as a colony and as a staging ground for South Africa's frequent incursions into Angola, and because of the MPLA government's ties to the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the formerly Angola-based liberation group that has now taken power there. Namibia also shares ethnic ties with several of the peoples of southwest Angola, notably Ambo and Herero.

Throughout the 1980s, the negotiations on Namibian independence were based on the principle of "linkage," and centered on the South African demand that Cuba withdraw its forces from Angola in exchange for Namibia's freedom. In 1988, the three powers concluded an agreement that led to Namibian independence in March, 1990. Since independence relations between the two countries have been cordial, despite Namibia's refusal to allow Angola to use its territory to launch attacks on UNITA forces across the border in southern Angola. See also CUBA; SOUTH AFRICA; UNITED STATES.

NASCIMENTO, LOPO FORTUNATO FERREIRO DO (1942-). Born in Luanda, of Mbundu descent, Nascimento was educated there, completing his studies at the Vincente Ferreira Commercial School. Nascimento was arrested for his nationalist activities by PIDE in 1959 and 1963. He worked as a labor organizer after his release in 1968.

A veteran MPLA leader in Angola, Nascimento was appointed to the party's Politburo and Central Committee at the Moxico Inter-Regional Confer-

ence in September, 1974. His high standing in the movement was shown in January, 1975, when he was appointed as MPLA representative on the Presidential Council of the Transitional Government. He became Prime Minister of the new Angolan government in November, 1975 but was dismissed in a government reshuffle in December, 1978.

In early 1979 Nascimento became Executive Secretary for the UN Economic Commission on Africa. Upon his return that year, he was named Foreign Trade Minister, and in 1981 Nascimento took on the Planning portfolio. He gave up the Trade post in 1982 in a reorganization, but kept the Planning Ministry until February, 1986, when he left the Planning Ministry to become Provincial Commissioner in Huíla and the chairman of the Military Council in the 5th Region (the southwest).

In December 1990, President dos Santos recalled the pragmatic Nascimento from Lubango to join a new 17-member Politburo and to head peace talks in Portugal as special adviser to the president. Nascimento initialed a peace accord with his lifelong UNITA rivals on May 1, 1991.

NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES. The armed struggle for national liberation began in 1961 with the outbreak of anticolonial revolts, first in Luanda, then in Malanje, Uíge and Kwanza North provinces. Both anticolonial feeling and government repression had been building throughout the fifties. In 1959 the PIDE (Portuguese political police) cracked down on dissidents in Luanda, arresting many. In 1960 grassroots sentiments were stirred by events in neighboring Zaire (Belgian Congo), which became independent that summer.

In January, 1961, in the wake of the spectacular hijacking of an ocean liner by Portuguese dissidents, nationalist elements, led by MPLA, launched

coordinated attacks on prisons and police posts in Luanda with the objective of freeing political prisoners. The government struck back and many were killed or imprisoned. However, some escaped to stir up revolt among disaffected cotton farmers in the Malanje district, where attacks on colonial installations broke out on February 4. The big turning point came on March 15, when peasants in the coffee-growing regions of Uíge and Kwanza North, encouraged by UPA, turned on white settlers and government posts, killing dozens. In the ensuing conflict, which lasted through the summer of 1961, as many as 40,000 people were killed, about 400 of them Europeans.

From this point there was no turning back for either the nationalist movements or the colonial government. The government responded with some reforms, such as the abolition of cotton-growing quotas, the legal statuses of *indígena* and *assimilado*, and the forced labor system (1962). However, its main response was to launch a major military campaign coupled with rural resettlement schemes (*aldeamentos*) designed to protect and control the population (after 1964).

Nationalist organizations, too, responded with major changes, which had led by 1967 to a situation in which there were three major nationalist movements: MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA, each involved in guerrilla warfare against the Portuguese, as well as in competitive campaigns for both foreign and domestic support.

From the late 1960s until the military coup in Portugal in April, 1974 the liberation struggles continued, but without decisive results either in dislodging the Portuguese, or in establishing one of the competing movements as the voice for all Angolans. See also ALVOR AGREEMENT; CIVIL WARS; FNLA; MPLA; MODERN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS;

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR; TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT; UNITA.

NDELE, JOSÉ DE ASSUNÇÃO ALBERTO (1940-). Born on August 13, 1940, in Cabinda, Ndele studied at a seminary in Luanda and was a school teacher in Cabinda. For a short time he was a member of UPA. In 1962 he went to Fribourg, Switzerland, to study social science; after the formation of UNITA he became active in its students' organization. He was elected General Treasurer of UNITA at the party's Third Congress, held inside Angola in 1973.

In January, 1975 Ndele was appointed as the UNITA representative on the Presidential Council of the Transitional Government. He was also appointed as the UNITA Prime Minister on the government of the abortive provisional government, in November, 1975. In April, 1979 he, representing UNITA, signed an agreement with the FNLA to coordinate anti-MPLA actions.

NDEMBU. [Dembos]. Refers both to the wooded hill country northeast of Luanda between the Bengo and Loge Rivers, and to its inhabitants. Living in the Kongo-Mbundu borderlands, the Ndembu are usually included linguistically in the broad kiMbundu-speaking group, although they are strongly influenced by kiKongo as well. Historically this has been a region of resistance to pushy neighbors, and a haven for refugees from surrounding conflicts. The lords of *Ndembu*, able to retreat to hilltop strongholds, protected by forest and escarpments below, suited their politics of independence to the terrain.

In spite of the proximity of the area to Luanda, *Ndembu* has a long history of resistance to Portuguese penetration. For example, people there mounted armed resistance to the colonial forces in 1907-09 and again as late as 1917-19. After the outbreak of the

Wars of Liberation in 1961, *Ndembu* became a center of guerrilla resistance and was organized as MPLA's First Military Region.

Economically *Ndembu* is dependent on coffee-growing. However, guerrilla sabotage of crops and transport severely restricted exports for much of the eighties. Economy recovery will only come with peace.

NDONGO. The name given at various times to both the people and state of the Western Mbundu who were among the first and most profoundly affected by the expansion of the Portuguese *conquista* in the early 16th century. By the mid-16th century Ndongo had come under the rule of the holders of a powerful title, *Ngola a Kiluanje*, whose kingdom included not only the western Mbundu north of the Kwanza, but some territory south of the River as well.

By the mid-17th century the emergence of two new powers in the region--the Portuguese at Luanda, and the Imbangala on the Mbundu-Ovimbundu borderland--combined with the demands of the growing Atlantic slave trade, led to the defeat of the *Ngola a Kiluanje*, and the incorporation of western Ndongo into the *conquista*. Eastern Ndongo, east of the Lukala River, however, became a part of Matamba which remained strong and independent until the very late 19th century. See also MATAMBA; NGOLA A KILUANJE.

NDUNDUMA, COSTA DE ANDRADE. The official biographer of Neto, Ndunduma was the director of the *Jornal de Angola* and Angolan TV until December, 1978, when he was purged from the MPLA Central Committee. In 1982 he wrote a play attacking Health Minister Agostinho Mendes de Carvalho, the "Afro-Nationalists," and, by implication, President dos Santos. Ndunduma was jailed for two years.

NECACACA, MANUEL BARROS (1914-). In the year Manuel was born, his father, Miguel, was imprisoned for his role in the Kongo rebellion against forced labor. He was a second-generation Baptist, and like many other modern Kongo leaders, educated in Baptist Missionary Society schools. He first pursued a career in the medical field, working from 1934 to 1937 in the Baptist hospital in Mbanza Kongo (São Salvador), and received training as a medical technician from 1937 to 1941. He also acted as secretary to the Kongo King Pedro VII.

In 1942 Necaca moved to Kinshasa (Leopoldville), where he worked for a trading company. With his young nephew Holden Roberto he was active in trying to spark Kongo nationalism in the emigré community there. He was a principal figure in the "king palaver" in Mbanza Kongo (1955-56), in which Kongo nationalists tried to elect a new king who would take a strong and independent stand against Portuguese colonialism. This move failed, and in 1957 or thereabouts Kongo nationalists in Leopoldville and Matadi founded a new party, the UPNA, with Necaca as its first President.

After 1958, when UPNA became UPA, Necaca lost ground to the rising young star of Kongo nationalism, Holden Roberto. For a time Necaca was on the Executive Council of the party, but in 1960 he quarreled with Roberto and resigned, although remaining within UPA, and later FNLA. In particular, he used his medical knowledge in relief work among Kongo refugees in Zaire. Necaca emerged from time to time to attack Roberto for inefficiency and corruption. In 1972 he was evicted from his post in a purge by Roberto of "deviationists."

NEOLITHIC. See LEOPOLDIAN NEOLITHIC.

NETO, ANTÓNIO AGOSTINHO (1922-1979). The first President of an independent Angola, Neto was a physician, poet and politician. His father was a Methodist pastor. Neto was educated through the secondary level in Angola. After graduation he worked for three years in health services and as secretary to a Methodist bishop. In 1947 he received a scholarship to study medicine in Portugal. His involvement in antigovernmental activities, the publication of his nationalist poetry (1955), and the resulting internal exile in 1955-1957 delayed his graduation until 1958. He and his Portuguese wife then returned to Angola, where he opened a medical practice. However, his continued nationalist activities resulted in a new series of arrests and incarcerations, beginning in 1960.

Neto was a founding member of MPLA and continued very active in the movement in spite of arrests, deportation and imprisonment. In 1962 Neto escaped from house arrest in Portugal and traveled to Leopoldville, where he was elected President of MPLA at its first National Conference. From its headquarters in Brazzaville Neto directed the affairs of the movement during the wars of liberation against the Portuguese, traveling extensively to solicit support in sympathetic countries. He was one of the founders of CONCP. Alongside all his political activities, Neto continued to publish poetry during the 1960s, including the volume *Sacred Hope* (1963).

In September, 1974 Neto presided over the MPLA Inter-Regional Conference in the Moxico bush, where he was appointed President of the party's Politburo. During the escalating struggle of 1975 Neto was the chief spokesman of MPLA in the ill-fated negotiations with UNITA and FNLA. On November 11, 1975, Agostinho Neto became President of the People's Republic of Angola.

Political commentators generally described Neto as reserved, cautious, and a moderate. He in-

tended to build a socialist state on the ruins of the old colonial system, but his words were generally measured and freer of Marxist-Leninist rhetoric than those of his followers. He had shown a great capacity to survive dissidence in his party, partly due to a solid circle of close followers and to his own determination and astuteness.

Neto died of cancer in the Soviet Union on September 11, 1979.

NEW STATE. [Estado Novo]. Name given to the Portuguese government under the 20th-century dictator Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar (1928-1968). The New State rested on the three pillars of Authoritarianism, Nationalism, and Colonialism. For Angola it meant a period of political and economic centralization; police repression of nationalist activities and severe press censorship; a division of the population into *indígena* and *não-indígena*, with education the key to assimilation; and the encouragement of white settlement, especially after World War II.

In philosophical terms, the New State elevated notions of Portugal's "civilizing mission" embodied in the theory of luso-tropicalism to the level of doctrine. See also ASSIMILADO; INDÍGENA; LUSO-TROPICALISM; PORTUGAL.

NGANGELA. [Nganguela, Ngangwela]. Somewhat pejorative Ovimbundu term for people living to their south and east on the upper Kwanza and Kubango rivers. Historically, Ngangela have organized into many independent communities, both of the decentralized, segmentary and centralized state types. States, however, have only been preferred in unsettled times, to defend against hostile neighbors.

This region of essentially independent groups was split into two sections by the southward penetration of the Chokwe in the late 19th century. Only

those in the western section accept the name Ngangela. Those on the eastern side carry such names as Lwena [Luena], Luvale, Mbunda and Luchazi [Lutchaze]. Together these peoples make up about 7 percent of the Angolan population. The Ngangela of the west include cattle keepers as well as farmers. In the east fishing is a significant occupation for some groups.

These dwellers in the remote and difficult lands of the east have been marginal to both the ancient and modern history of Angola. In the late 20th century those in the west have tended to ally with neighboring Ovimbundu under UNITA, while some of those in the east have allied with the Mbundu-dominated MPLA.

NGOLA A KILUANJE. Mbundu political title whose incumbents founded a large kingdom in Western Mbundu in the 16th century. By the middle of the century *Ngola a Kiluanje* had subordinated all its neighbors on both sides of the lower Kwanza. However, late in the century the kingdom of the *Ngola* was being pressed by Imbangala from the south and west, and by Portuguese from Luanda.

Between 1612 and 1622 a Portuguese-Imbangala alliance defeated *Ngola a Kiluanje* through a combination of military assault and political meddling. Luanda at first supported a usurper, Njinga, for the throne, and then a series of puppets.

In the 1660s moves by the incumbent to reassert his independence led to another Portuguese offensive, resulting in the death of the *Ngola*; the enslavement of many of his subjects; the establishment of a Portuguese *presídio* at the capital, Pungu a Ndongo; and even the appropriation of the king's title by the new Portuguese *conquista*, subsequently itself called Angola. See also NDONGO; NJINGA.

NGOYO. This ancient kingdom included most of modern-day Cabinda. Inhabited by kiKongo speakers, the Kingdom of Ngoyo was originally allied with, if not subservient to, the *Mwene Kongo*. However, with the opening up of Atlantic trade in the 16th century, Ngoyo grew quite independent. It lost its preeminence as a slave-trade broker to Loango in the 18th century, but again prospered in the 19th, when abolition drove slavers into the shelter of the Zaire. However, by this time the old Ngoyo monarchy had been almost completely overshadowed by the merchant elite who controlled the port of Cabinda and its offshoots along the Zaire River.

NJAU. Nyaneka state on the Humpata plateau. In the 1790s the ruler of Njau broke away from his Hufla overlords to enjoy a burst of prosperity as a slave supplier to the French then operating on the coast south of Benguela.

NJINGA (1582-1663). [Nzinga, Ana da Sousa]. Queen in turn of both *Ngola a Kiluanje* and Matamba, she is the most famous female in Angolan history. She was born to the court of the *Ngola a Kiluanje* and first appears in the Portuguese record when she arrived in Luanda as emissary of the *Ngola* in 1622. She accepted Christian baptism as a prerequisite for allying with the Portuguese. On her return, after the mysterious death of the incumbent, she seized the throne. Both her ancestry and her gender posed problems for her in establishing her right to rule. For the rest of her life she deftly navigated the political shoals of two kingdoms, and manipulated a series of alliances to perpetuate herself in power.

Having allied with the Portuguese, she turned against them and sought more effective alliances among the Imbangala. She took the Imbangala title *tembanza*, but the connection did not prove lasting. With her fortunes on the downturn after 1630, she

moved to the old eastern Mbundu state of Matamba, where there had at least been queens in the past. From here she sought allies among the Dutch, who bought slaves from her and made her independent of her previous allies, both African and European. In the 1640s, with the Dutch in Luanda, she turned Matamba into the most powerful kingdom in the region. However, with the return of the Portuguese to power in 1648 she again sought accommodation with them.

From about 1650 until her death she returned to the commercial and diplomatic orbit of the *conquista*, again adopting Christianity, and supporting European missionaries and officials in her court. She also took on the social attributes of a male-leading her armies personally and keeping many husbands and lovers. Njinga left Matamba strong and independent, as well as uniquely disposed to female rulers for more than two centuries after her death in 1663.

In modern times the ancient Matamba queen has become a heroine to both nationalists and feminists, who see her as an early predecessor and model. See also CONQUISTA; MATAMBA.

NKHUMBI. [Humbe]. See NYANEKA-NKHUMBI.

NORTON DE MATOS. See MATOS, NORTON DE.

NOVÃES, PAULO DIAS DE (d. 1589). The grandson of Bartólumeu Dias, Paulo Dias was first sent to Angola in 1559 on a diplomatic mission from João III of Portugal to *Ngola Ilene* of Ndongo. Dias, accompanied by four missionaries, arrived at the court in 1561, only to find a new ruler, *Ngola Mbandi*, on the throne. This king, who had not invited the foreigners, held them hostage for four years. When Novães returned to Lisbon, he advocated colonization. When King Sebastião of Portugal adopted such a policy in 1571, Novães was appointed *donatário*. This post, used to

facilitate overseas expansion in the 16th century, was a kind of colonial charter granted to an individual on condition that he bring new lands under Portuguese control by military, religious and economic means.

Novães's colonial effort was hampered by opposition from Afro-Portuguese and Jesuit commercial interests already entrenched in Luanda. When Novães found himself unable to compete financially by peaceful means, he turned to war to both coopt local competitors and coerce African ones. In so doing he set a pattern of commercial expansion through war that came to characterize successive Portuguese regimes in Luanda.

When Novães died in 1589, his grant reverted to the Crown, which sent a royal governor to head the colony.

NOVO REDONDO. See SUMBE.

NYANEKA-NKHUMBI. [Nyaneka-Humbe]. Predominantly cattle-keeping peoples of southwestern Angola, who, unlike the neighboring Herero and Ambo, are found almost entirely in Angola, where they constitute about 3 percent of the population. Historically they have been divided into several small kingdoms, among them Hufla, Njau, and Ngambwe (Gambos).

In the late 18th century Njau and Hufla were prospering through their trade with the French. By the 1860s Ngambwe had used its control of ivory exports to become the most prominent of these states. An influx of white settlers onto the Hufla Plateau had cost the Nyaneka much of their best land by the end of the 19th century. See also HUÍLA; NJAU.

-O-

OIL. Oil is Angola's most important commodity, making up a reported 95 percent of its export earnings. Petroleum

production is projected to reach 500,000 barrels a day by the end of 1990. Oil is Angola's major link to the West: companies from the U.S. (Chevron and Texaco), Italy (AGIP) and Belgium (Elf Aquitaine) have major operations there.

Oil was first discovered in quantity in Angola in 1955 by the Belgian company Petrofina in the Kwanza River basin; a second major find was on the coast south of Luanda in 1961. The concession to exploit these early finds was given to the Companhia de Petróleos de Angola (PETRANGOL), which at first was owned one-third by Petrofina and two-thirds by the Portuguese government and Portuguese investors. PETRANGOL built an oil refinery at Luanda and entered into an oil production partnership with Texaco. ANGOL was set up as an exploration subsidiary. In 1957 a second concession was given for the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company (CABGOC), a subsidiary of Gulf Oil. This company made a major strike offshore in 1966.

CABGOC briefly stopped production during the civil war in 1975, but since independence oil production has continued to increase with little friction between the socialist MPLA government and the Western oil firms. In May, 1976 the government created the Sociedade Nacional de Combustiveis de Angola (SONANGOL) to supervise the oil industry and to hold 51 percent of the shares of CABGOC, PETRANGOL, and Texaco Petróleos de Angola. In 1977 ANGOL was nationalized. Although guerrilla forces damaged the Luanda oil refinery in 1986, the oil industry is the one area of Angola's economy that UNITA has not been able to seriously disrupt.

After the acquisition of Gulf by Chevron in 1984, U.S. conservatives put pressure on Chevron to pull out of Angola, and got Congress to ban military use of Angolan oil, a relatively meaningless gesture. In 1987 Chevron sold one-fifth of its 49 percent share

in CABGOC to AGIP of Italy. In early 1989 Western investors were anticipating the granting of several new concessions along the coast south of the Soyo fields.

ORGANIZAÇÃO DAS MULHERES DE ANGOLA (OMA).

Founded in 1961 as a part of MPLA. The OMA has been the most active of the mass organizations established by MPLA in its early years. Since independence OMA has established branches in the provinces, held several national conferences, hosted international women's meetings, and successfully linked up with other organizations of women throughout the world.

Through the OMA, issues of interest to women have been kept in the national spotlight. In 1990 the OMA made a public appeal to women in the U.S. to help end the civil war, since women and children were especially hard hit by the guerrilla tactics employed in the countryside. See also WOMEN.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU). Founded in 1963, the OAU exists to further the political, economic and social unity of Africa and to assist the decolonization of the continent. Although the OAU's membership was initially divided in the early stages of the Angolan civil war, the entry of South African troops on the side of UNITA and FNLA swung the support of most of Africa to the MPLA-controlled People's Republic of Angola. Angola was admitted as the 46th member of the OAU on February 11, 1976.

OVAMBO. See AMBO.

OVIMBUNDU. The Ovimbundu are Angola's largest single ethnolinguistic group, with more than a third of the total population. The Ovimbundu share a homeland in the Central Highlands and a language known as um-Bundu. Historically, however, they have divided themselves into several autonomous kingdoms, with which

most Ovimbundu continued to identify well into the 20th century. This long pattern of political association has given rise to regional differences which have come to correspond to named ethnolinguistic subgroups, among them Bailundu, Bié, Dombe, Ganda, Huambo, Hanha, Caconda, Chiyaka, Sambu and Sele.

Living in the fertile highlands of central Angola, Ovimbundu women have long been successful farmers, who adopted maize as their staple crop in the 17th century. Their efforts have been historically complemented by the hunting, raiding, trading and manufacturing largely undertaken by men.

Early state formation in the highlands under a *kulembe* title and with the support of the warrior/hunter *kilombo* cult contributed to the development of the Imbangala movement. This phenomenon in turn greatly influenced subsequent political history in both Mbundu and Ovimbundu.

By the late 17th century Ovimbundu states on both the far northern and western slopes of the Highlands were dealing with Portuguese and Afro-Portuguese traders. By the 1720s and 1730s a "slaving revolution" had engulfed the kingdoms of the Highlands as they became enmeshed in the commerce of the expanding Atlantic zone. From the mid-18th century an Ovimbundu-French trade flourished. The success of this trade led to military reprisals by *conquista* forces in 1773-1775. These Afro-Portuguese-led military campaigns helped commercially oriented princes gain the upper hand in local politics. In all, 22 states emerged, based on agriculture and participation in the slave trade. The largest of these were Mbailundu, Viye and Wambu, each of which formed the center of a network of alliances and clientage with its neighbors.

From their 18th-century incorporation into the Atlantic zone through the 1912 end of the wild rubber boom, the Ovimbundu played an important role in organizing commerce between the Angolan *conquista*

and the commercial powers of inner central and southern Africa, including Lunda, Chokwe, Lozi and Kazembe.

Although they were unable to mount a united campaign against Portuguese colonial conquest, Mbailundu did lead a sustained resistance campaign in 1902-1904, which came to be known as the "Bailundu War." After their incorporation into the colonial state, the Ovimbundu continued their commercial leadership in southern Angola, organizing large caravans for the export of products such as rubber and ivory. Once new transport systems made caravans obsolete the Ovimbundu developed commercial maize production as their economic mainstay, thereby managing to stay economically independent well into the modern colonial era. It was only after 1930 that the colonial government, through increased taxation and forced labor demands, as well as the alienation of land to European settlers, were able to force the Ovimbundu into a situation of thorough colonial dependency. In this era Ovimbundu came to be heavily represented among contract workers, especially on northern coffee plantations.

Both Protestant and Catholic missionaries began work among the Ovimbundu in the late 19th century. Protestants especially formed church-centered communities that drew on traditional leadership and provided schooling for promising young men.

Since its formation in the 1960s, Ovimbundu have been attracted to UNITA as their nationalist voice. This has meant a fierce competition for the loyalty of Central Highlanders since the mid-1970s. See also IMBANGALA; LUNDA; MBAILUNDU; VIYE.

-P-

PALEOLITHIC. The Paleolithic period in Angola has not been well researched by archaeologists. Most of the extant Angolan data for this extremely long era of human prehistory comes from the diamond workings in Lunda, and a few other sites such as Dondo airport. However, inferences about Angola have been derived from bordering Lower Zaire and western Zambian sites as well, and the government of Angola has given high priority to archaeological research.

The data available so far suggest that favorable environments in Angola have been inhabited by humans and their hominid ancestors since at least Acheulian times (beginning c. 500,000 years ago), and probably since the pebble-tool-producing Olduwan culture, beginning about 2,000,000 years ago.

Prehistoric developmental sequences for Angola generally are thought to parallel those which are known through more extensive archaeological research done in adjoining regions of Central and Southern Africa. Archaeologically speaking, Angola divides after Acheulian times (at least by 60,000 years ago) into cultural sequences typical of the forest zone (central and northern regions) and those belonging to savannah environments (eastern and southeastern regions). From the Sangoan era until the Neolithic, the central African forest zones seem to have developed relatively autonomously, while the savannah zones were more clearly linked to the rest of the south. Particularly for the forest zones there is little agreement among experts as to the dating and extent of various cultures of the later Paleolithic era. Great variety and minimal contact with extra-forest environments, coupled with the difficulties of pursuing research in forest environments generally, have slowed the process of creating an agreed-upon developmental framework.

PARTIDO DEMOCRATICO ANGOLANO (PDA). See GRAE; KUNZIKA; MODERN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS; ZOMBO.

PARTIDO NACIONAL AFRICANO. See EARLY NATIONALIST ACTIVITIES.

PASTORALISM. A economic system based on stock raising. Pastoralism is thought to have developed in the semi-arid regions of southern Angola by the 10th century. See also AGRO-PASTORALISM; AMBO; HERERO.

PEACE ACCORD (1991). After seven rounds of talks brokered by Portugal, the U.S. and the USSR, MPLA and UNITA negotiators initialled on May 1, 1991 an agreement to end Angola's 16-year-old civil war and to hold elections in the fall of 1992. The historic pact was formally signed by Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA President Jonas Savimbi on May 29.

Under the accord the parties agreed to a May 15, 1991 cease-fire; internationally supervised elections to be held sometime between September and October of 1992; the integration of UNITA and MPLA armies into a single national army; the creation of a joint political and military commission made up of UNITA, MPLA, U.S., USSR and Portuguese representatives that will have main responsibility for preparing elections and forming a single army; the suspension by the U.S. and USSR of military aid to their respective Angolan allies.

On May 18, 1991 the UNITA and FAPLA chiefs of staff met and arranged the cease-fire; within 24 hours there was peace throughout Angola for the first time in three decades. Election preparations are already underway and on September 29, 1991 Jonas Savimbi returned to Luanda to begin his presidential campaign. See also POLITICAL PARTIES.

PEOPLE'S POWER. [Poder Popular]. A central ideological theme of both MPLA and successor MPLA-PT has been the active participation of the masses in the overthrow of colonialism and in the development of a strong, independent Angola. Article 3 of the Constitution explicitly states that "the masses shall be guaranteed broad effective participation in the exercise of political power, through the consolidation, expansion and development of organizational forms of people's power."

Within Angola the nascent organizations of people's power developed first in the *musseques* of Luanda as units of self-defense against white vigilante forces, who were reacting violently to the changing political climate following the April, 1974 coup in Portugal. These self-defense groups, which spread from the capital to other towns, were a reservoir of support on which MPLA could draw upon its return to Luanda in November, 1974. Neighborhood Commissions, the practical expression of people's power in the urban areas, helped to drive FNLA and UNITA from Luanda and to restore the daily lives of the people in such areas as education, health, and the distribution of food. Committees of workers in factories, and cooperatives in the countryside, were other moves by the people to organize themselves and to get the economy moving again after the departure of the Portuguese. See also ADMINISTRATION.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA (RPA). [Republica Popular de Angola]. This is the official name of the modern country of Angola, which gained its independence from Portugal on November 11, 1975.

PEREIRA, JOSÉ DE FONTES (1823-91). An Afro-Portuguese from the Luanda area, Fontes Pereira was for many years a loyal *assimilado* who worked for the Portuguese as a civil servant. He entered politics late,

publishing his first article in the radical journal *O Cruzeiro do Sul* in 1873. For the next decade he gained a reputation as a scourge of the colonial administration, with numerous articles criticizing everything from forced labor to prison conditions and discrimination against non-Portuguese. At the same time he remained loyal to Portugal, even advocating further Portuguese expansion in the Angolan interior.

After 1883, however, there was a marked change in the tenor of his writings. He moved away from mainstream *assimilado* protest and began to advocate full Angolan independence. In 1890 he even suggested that Britain should take over Portuguese possessions in Africa. Long socially ostracized, Fontes Pereira was denounced as a traitor and dismissed from his job shortly before his death in 1891.

PINNOCK, JOHNNY EDUARDO (1942-). Born in Mbanza Kongo of Kongo parentage, Pinnock attended elementary school in Matadi, Zaire (Belgian Congo), where his father was station master. He later studied at the Institute of Political Studies, Kinshasa.

Pinnock was active early with his father in exile Kongo politics. In 1960 he was a co-editor of *A Voz da Nação Angolana*, the UPA bimonthly paper; in 1962 he became head of the UPA youth organization, and was one of the party representatives who signed the agreement founding FNLA. He represented GRAE in Algiers for a short time, but in 1965, after the departure of Jonas Savimbi, FNLA head Holden Roberto recalled Pinnock to help him with the reorganization of the front and to be his chief spokesperson on Foreign Affairs.

Pinnock was one of Roberto's closest aides. He represented the FNLA on the Presidential Council of the Transitional Government, and was appointed FNLA Prime Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Angola, set up in opposition to the RPA in

November 1975. In 1984 Pinnock ended eight years of exile by returning to Angola under the government's amnesty program. He was given an administrative post and elected to the MPLA Central Committee. As of 1990 he held a post in the state-run oil company.

PINNOCK, JOSÉ EDUARDO (1905-). Born in Mbanza Kongo, and, like many Kongo leaders of his time, educated in Baptist Missionary Society schools, he worked his way up to the post of station master at Matadi. Pinnock became involved in Kongo politics in 1955 when he joined with others in opposing the Portuguese candidate for *Mwene Kongo*. He supported instead the nationalist candidate, who, it was hoped, would spearhead the cause of restoring the kingdom.

When this effort failed Pinnock and others shifted their attention to the Kongo community in Kinshasa (Leopoldville). There he became a founder of UPNA/UPA and in 1962 helped establish FNLA. He was GRAE Minister of the Interior, and remained a staunch supporter of Holden Roberto throughout the 1960s. See also MODERN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS.

PINTO, ALEXANDRE ALBERTO DA ROCHA DE SERPA (1846-1900). Serpa Pinto was a well-known Portuguese explorer, soldier, and colonial administrator. His most famous journey was in 1877-79, when he set out from Benguela, traveled east to the Zambezi, and finally reached the southeast African coast at Durban, South Africa. This trans-African journey was greeted with great enthusiasm in Portugal. It galvanized support for African ventures, giving impetus to the Portuguese vision of a vast colony reaching from coast to coast, a scheme later dropped because of British opposition.

Serpa Pinto's book, *How I Crossed Africa*, was translated into French, German, and English in 1881.

It contributed to the general European enthusiasm for exploration and colonization in Africa which fueled the late-century European "Scramble." See also SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA.

PLANALTO. Portuguese term used to refer to the western plateau regions of Angola, especially the Central Highlands, which have a subtropical climate, reliable rainfall, good soils, and mineral resources, and have therefore historically been heavily populated. The *planalto* was the focus of European settlement schemes, especially under the Salazar regime. See also CENTRAL HIGHLANDS; SETTLERS.

POLICIA INTERNACIONAL DO DEFESA DO ESTADO (PIDE). The International Police for the Defense of the State, better known simply as PIDE, was the political police of Portugal under the New State of dictator António Salazar. PIDE was introduced into Angola about 1957 to counter increasingly militant nationalist groups. PIDE was used by the Portuguese administration together with a network of informers and local officials to systematically root out individuals suspected of nationalist activities. PIDE became a byword for repression and brutality, and the organization was responsible for the imprisonment and death of hundreds of Angolan nationalists.

In 1969 the name of PIDE was officially changed to the General Directorate of Security, but the activities of the political police remained the same until the April, 1974 revolution in Portugal.

POLITICAL PARTIES. New political reforms and the Peace Accord signed in May 1991 have allowed political parties to openly organize for the first time in Angolan history. However, despite the optimism of some of the 60-odd groupings that have declared their intention to register as parties, the electoral laws are frankly

biased towards the nation's two movements with armies, the MPLA and UNITA. Under the Political Parties Act prospective parties must establish that they have a membership of 3,000, with at least 140 members in each of 14 of Angola's 18 provinces. Each of the required individual members must provide identity, employment and criminal records--a difficult rule in a nation with few copying machines. The MPLA and UNITA are exempt from these rules. The rules are ostensibly meant to discourage purely ethnic parties and could in fact exclude the revived FNLA, which will have a difficult time qualifying in 14 provinces.

Dissatisfaction with the new election laws has sparked a call for a national conference from Angola's smaller groups, but both the MPLA and UNITA are flatly opposed to the idea. Apart from the FNLA, which still may prove to be a wild-card, most of Angola's smaller parties should have little impact on the 1992 elections. The best organized of the minor parties is the Partido Renovador Democrático (PRD), which is headed by a survivor of the 1977 failed Nito Alves coup, Luis da Silva dos Passos, and, because of its history, is expected to position itself to the left of the MPLA. Many of the other parties are headed by former MPLA figures, but one, the Fórum Democrático Angolano (FDA), is made up of UNITA dissidents. See also COMIRA; FNLA; MPLA; UNITA.

PORTO, ANTÓNIO FRANCISCO DA SILVA (1817-1880).

Known as Silva Porto, this most famous of the 19th-century Portuguese *sertanejos* was born in Porto, Portugal. He went to Brazil at the age of 12, but by age 21 he had settled in Angola, first in Luanda and then Benguela. He entered the Ovimbundu trade, and in 1845 settled in Viye, where he founded a village called Belmont which was populated with his slaves, retainers, and family (by his prominent Viyeane wife).

He traveled widely in the region between Benguela and the Upper Zambezi, helping to pioneer Ovimbundu commercial expansion. He also achieved notoriety in Europe when he aided famous European explorers, such as David Livingstone. He attempted a trans-African journey in 1852-54, but was stopped by illness in Lozi, although his *pumbeiros* reached the Mozambique coast.

During the European "Scramble" Silva Porto became increasingly embittered by growing foreign infiltration in the region and Portugal's apparent inability to do anything about it. He strongly urged Lisbon to act to secure Angola as a colony. He committed suicide in 1890. Edited extracts from his journals and letters have been published.

PORTUGAL. This small southwest European nation enjoyed a virtual monopoly of Atlantic commerce with sub-Saharan Africa in the 15th and 16th centuries. However, by the 17th century, and from then onward, Portugal was a minor power vis-à-vis its European neighbors, and a virtual dependent of Britain economically from the 18th century.

Among other things, this meant that Portugal historically had fewer resources to invest in colonial development. Until Brazil achieved independence in 1821, Portugal gave it priority in colonial policy. Indeed, from the earliest settlements until the late 19th century, Portuguese authority in West Central Africa did not extend much beyond the *conquista* and the coastal port towns.

After more than two centuries of clinging to these enclaves, Portugal was able to gain European recognition of its claims to the territory of modern Angola only during the era of the "Scramble for Africa." Even then it took a series of military campaigns before the Portuguese gained actual political control of all of Angola's peoples. During the 19th and early

20th centuries the government of Portugal was quite unstable. These troubles culminated in 1910 with the overthrow of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic.

The republicans were not able to resolve the deep political and economic problems that plagued the nation, and in 1926 the republican government was overthrown by a group with more authoritarian ideas. By 1928 António de Oliveira Salazar had become the finance minister, and by 1930 he was dictator, a position he held until shortly before his death in 1968.

After World War II, when nationalism grew strong in most of Africa, the Salazarist government countered with repression, imported European settlers, and declarations that its colonies were overseas territories and not really colonies at all. When wars of independence finally did break out in Portuguese Africa, the metropolitan government responded with some reforms and an enormous military build-up. In 1974, after more than a decade of fighting, officers of the Portuguese army, themselves influenced by African nationalists, staged a successful coup, ushering in a democratic socialist government sympathetic to African independence. Following independence, diplomatic relations between Portugal and the MPLA government were initially cool. Formal recognition of Angola by Portugal did not come until September, 1976, and it was not until 1978 that relations became cordial. During the 1980s Angolan-Portuguese relations were frequently strained, due to the presence of a large community of pro-UNITA exiles in Lisbon. However, affairs improved in 1987, when President dos Santos made a state visit to Portugal, where he was given a warm welcome and was successful in initiating closer economic ties between the two countries.

In 1990 Portugal began an intensive effort to mediate an end to the Angolan civil war. After seven rounds of talks between UNITA and MPLA negotia-

was recognized in April 1941, a peace accord was finally concluded on May 1, 1941. The agreement between Portugal and Germany was a clear step in a diplomatic effort for the small European state. Portuguese opinion expressed the hope that the pact would create a new era of relations between Portugal and its former African colonies in which the former colonies would benefit from Portugal's position in the European Community, while Portugal's international standing would be enhanced by its special relationship with Latin America Africa. See also CONQUEST, MODERN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION, PEACE ACCORD.

PORTUGUESE. The official language of Angola is Portuguese. It has also been an important lingua franca of Angola for much longer than the life of the modern colony. Portuguese was held in by the educated as the language of "civilized" people. It continues to be the language of government, schools, and national media. Angola remains a part of the Portuguese speaking world on many levels—cultural, linguistic, economic, and political. See also LUSOPHONIC AFRICA.

PROSECUTION. An action for the completion which was intended to serve as a counterweight to the power of the colony. When they were prosecuted, the colony was by force under the command of a military officer with the role of the colony. These officials and their actions were under the authority of the Portuguese government. See also PROSECUTION, LOCAL AFRICAN PROSECUTION.

PROTESTANT CHURCHES. Most were in the case of the colony in Africa, led by the Roman Catholic Church. Some churches were part of the colony and some were part of the colony. Some churches were part of the colony and some were part of the colony. There are no major Protestant churches.

the first of the group of churches in the city of Bogotá.

The Evangelical Church of Central Bogotá (Iglesia Evangélica de Bogotá Central) is the Evangelical church organization in Bogotá. It was founded in 1885 by the American missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, who began work in 1875. Today the congregation is 34 percent Protestant and as of 1965 had 13,000 adult adherents.

The United Methodist Church of Bogotá (Iglesia Metodista Unida de Bogotá) is the Methodist church in Bogotá. It was founded in 1885 by the American Board of Methodist missionaries, who came to Bogotá in 1875. The church is 34 percent Protestant and 70 percent United Methodist, with an average of 2000 people in the country, with about 42,000 adult adherents (1965).

The United Free Methodist Church (Iglesia Metodista Unida Libre) is an American Methodist church branch of the worldwide Methodist movement. Founded in Bogotá in 1911, the church as of 1965 had some 21,000 adult adherents.

A Protestant group with 10,000 adult adherents in the early 1960s was the Church of the Brothers, which began in Bogotá and had about 6,000 and 4,000 adult adherents. As of 1965 there were at least five other Protestant groups in Bogotá, each with fewer than 1,000 adult adherents, including the United Methodist Church, the Church of Christ, and the Church of Christ.

Because rapid growth in numbers, particularly of all Christian denominations, the 1965 numbers listed here should be taken as suggestive of relative importance rather than as representing the actual numbers. For this reason, the numbers are rounded.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS. Portugal was from its inception a Catholic state. Consequently, Protestant mission work was never warmly received at the official level. However, beginning late in the 19th century, a succession of Protestant denominations sent missionaries into Angola, with varying degrees of success. Today's strong ethnic correlations with certain denominations reflect early and effective comity agreements--that is, agreements among missionary-sending agencies not to work in areas in which other missionaries were already present.

Protestant missionary efforts in Angola were initiated in 1878 with the founding of an English Baptist mission station in Mbanza Kongo (São Salvador). By 1920 there were nine Protestant missions from Britain, the United States, Canada, Switzerland, and Germany. The Baptist Missionary Society worked in northern (Kongo) Angola; the Methodist Church, established in Luanda in 1885, was active in the Mbundu area; and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions worked from 1880 in the Ovimbundu region. The religious loyalties created by these divisions contributed to the tripartite division of Angola among the three main nationalist movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

Like their Catholic counterparts, Protestant missions concentrated their work in the educational and medical fields. Protestant missions aimed to educate their members to read the Bible in their own language, and initially promoted the vernacular, but after 1921 the use of Portuguese in schools was made mandatory. After World War II the Protestant missions established scholarship programs for Angolan students to study overseas. This made a significant contribution to the population of the university-educated, who can still be found in leadership positions in both government and opposition movements, as well as in professions throughout the modern sector of the country.

Portuguese authorities were always suspicious of foreign missionaries, whom they tolerated only because of international laws and pressures. Levels of suspicion were so high that educated African Protestants had trouble qualifying for *assimilado* status. Yet the Protestant missions provided medical services and schools that local people came to depend on, and which the colonial administration simply could not afford to take over.

At independence, there were about 100 foreign Protestant missionaries working in the country; five years later, there were about 300. In addition, as of independence, Angolan churches of all denominations were sending out about 100 missionaries of their own, mostly to expatriate Angolan communities in São Tomé and Zaire.

PUMBEIRO. [Aviante, pombeiro]. A word derived from the Yeke *pumbo*, the name of the great market at Malebo Pool (known in colonial times as Stanley Pool) in the area of modern Kinshasa. This was the most important of the central interior markets frequented by the Portuguese in the 16th century. The term came to denote a person who traded in interior markets, on the account of a Portuguese or Afro-Portuguese merchant.

PUNA, MIGUEL N'ZAU (1933-). A member of the Woyo royal family of Cabinda, Puna is UNITA's longtime Secretary-General. He studied in the Christian seminary in Malanje before leaving Angola to study agronomy in Tunisia. In September, 1968 he was elected Secretary-General of UNITA, a position he still holds. A masterful organizer, he is the architect of UNITA's political structure. Despite the rise and fall of rivals to UNITA Chairman Jonas Savimbi, Puna has been considered Savimbi's loyal number two for many years.

PUNGU A NDONGO [Pungo Andongo]. Striking rock outcropping that was the site of the capital of Ndongo and the seat of the ruling *Ngola a Kiluanje* in the 17th century. It was captured by *conquista* forces in the 1660s; a *presidio* fortress was located there from 1671.

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RAILWAYS. The railway system, developed in the colonial period, reflects the pattern of colonial economic development, with its emphasis on the exchange of Angolan raw materials for European manufactured goods, rather than on the strengthening of internal commerce. There are three main but unconnected lines running from west to east: 1) the Luanda Railway, which links Luanda with Malanje; 2) the Benguela Railway, which connects Lobito and Benguela to the Zairean, Zambian and Zimbabwean railway systems; and 3) the Namibe Railway, which serves southern Angola and runs from Namibe to Menongue through Lubango. A small fourth line, which runs about 80 miles from Porto Amboim inland to Gabela, serves a rich coffee, cotton, and sisal growing region. See also BENGUELA RAILWAY.

REFUGEES. The Angolan refugee problem, a direct result of the continuing civil war, is among the world's worst. An estimated 400,000 Angolans have fled the nation, with 100,000 leaving since July, 1985. Most have settled in Zaire, where 300,000 reside, or Zambia, where 90,000 have settled. At least 700,000 Angolans have been internally displaced, and as many as 3.5 million peasants are estimated to have flocked to the safety of Angola's cities.

With the desertion of Angola's fields, agricultural production has atrophied. Coffee production has dropped from 4,000,000 bags a year to 200,000.

Angola's refugee problem began in the 1960s as 400,000 Angolans fled to Zaire to escape the Portuguese government's reprisals against the independence movement. Another 6,000 entered Zambia during this period. During the war of liberation an estimated 500,000 fled Angola and 250,000 were internally displaced. After independence many Kongo exiles returned to their homes in northern Angola, replacing some of the 300,000 Portuguese who had fled the nation. However, the civil war displaced thousands of southern Angolans, 30,000 from Kunene province alone.

RESISTANCE. See ANTICOLONIAL RESISTANCE.

RETORNADOS. This Portuguese term meaning "the returnees" refers to the thousands of settlers who fled Angola during 1974-76. Their departure left a large gap in the economy of Angola, since they had filled the ranks of necessary professional and skilled manpower.

RIBAS, OSCAR BENTO (1909-). This Afro-Portuguese folklorist and writer was born in Luanda and educated at the Liceu Salvador Correia. He became blind at the age of 21 and stopped writing for about 18 years.

Ribas has incorporated all aspects of Mbundu and Afro-Portuguese culture, from folktales to religion and the culinary arts, into his novels and short stories. While he influenced a new generation of Angolan writers, he has not always been accepted by them because of the ambivalence of attitudes to indigenous culture, which may reflect the ambiguities of his Afro-Portuguese background.

ROBERTO, HOLDEN ALVARO (1923-). A Kongo with ties to the royal family, born in Mbanza Kongo, Holden Roberto has lived most of his life in Zaire. At age two he moved with his aunt to Kinshasa (Leopold-

ville), where he was educated in a Baptist Missionary Society school between 1925 and 1940. In 1940-41 he was sent back to the mission school in Mbanza Kongo for a year to improve his Portuguese. He then worked for eight years as a clerk in the Belgian Congo Provincial Administration. From 1949 to 1957 he had a job alongside his uncle, Barros Necaca, at the Nogueira Trading Company in Kinshasa.

It was during this time that Roberto came under the influence of Kongo nationalists both in Congo and in northern Angola. He became involved in the nascent liberation movement and in 1958 he was sent as a delegate of the newly formed UPNA to the All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra. There he saw the need to broaden the base of his party from Kongo nationalism to Angolan nationalism, and he instigated the name change from UPNA to UPA. In 1959 he became attached to the Guinean United Nations delegation and presented the case of Angolan nationalism before the world assembly in New York. He also wrote articles publicizing the Angolan situation, and attended various international and African congresses. On his return in 1960 to Kinshasa, where UPA had opened an office, Roberto established himself as party president after a power struggle with veterans in the Kongo nationalist movement.

Roberto tried at various points to broaden the base of his party's support. At times he attracted non-Kongo politicians into the party leadership, but basically his mass following has been among the Kongo. In 1962 he negotiated and concluded the merger of the PDA with his UPA into FNLA, of which he has been president ever since. In April, 1962 he established GRAE, mainly formed by UPA members, and his greatest victory over his rival Neto and MPLA was the recognition of GRAE by the OAU in 1963. One of Roberto's political strengths has been the sup-

port he has received from his brother-in-law, President Mobutu of Zaire.

Following the Portuguese coup in 1974, Roberto negotiated the entry of the FNLA into Luanda in November, 1974, but he never ventured into the MPLA/Mbundu stronghold himself. In January, 1975 he signed the Alvor Agreement with Portugal, MPLA and UNITA, initiating the Transitional Government. In July, 1975, after an almost lifelong exile, Roberto returned to northern Angola to direct the war against MPLA. He negotiated the formation of a government with Savimbi in opposition to the RPA in November, 1975. During the civil war he was the major recipient of U.S. military support. Following the military victory of MPLA in March, 1976, FNLA and Roberto retreated from Angola back to their bases in Zaire.

In 1979 Roberto left Zaire at the request of the government. After first being refused by Senegal, he settled in Paris, where he still resides. In 1984 he resurfaced in the U.S. to lobby for aid for FNLA, which by then was almost defunct. Despite Roberto's recent obscurity, his aristocratic Kongo lineage and his long ties to former FNLA members in and out of government almost guarantee that he will have some role in a democratic postwar Angola.

ROCHA, CARLOS "DILOLWA" (1940-). An MPLA militant since the late 1950s, Rocha has been one of the movement's leading Marxist *mestiço* intellectuals. In the mid-1960s he was an instructor of MPLA guerrillas in Congo Brazzaville, and in 1969 he directed the regional Center for Revolutionary Instruction in Eastern Bié. He also, for a time, edited the movement's journal, *Vitória Certa*.

Rocha's emergence as a member of MPLA's leadership was signaled at the conference of party militants in Moxico in September, 1974, where he was appointed to the Politburo and Central Committee.

One of Neto's closest advisers, he became Minister of Planning and Finance in the first RPA government in November, 1975 and helped lay plans for national reconstruction. In November, 1976 Rocha was made Second Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of the National Planning Commission.

Being a *mestiço* and a brilliant economist, Rocha had been severely criticized by the faction of Nito Alves, but was defended at the time by Neto. However, in a December, 1978 Central Committee meeting led by Neto, Rocha was purged. He was denounced as a "petit bourgeois" and forced to resign his position as Deputy Premier and from MPLA's Politburo and Central Committee.

RODRIGUES, MANUEL ALEXANDRE DUARTE "KITO".

After leading negotiations with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko in 1978 that brought about a rapprochement with Mobutu and the expulsion of FNLA and FLEC rebels from Zaire, Rodrigues was made a cadet member of the MPLA Politburo. In 1979 he was elected to full membership and placed at the head of the law enforcement and police section of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In 1980 he became Interior Minister. After Paulo Teixeira Jorge was dropped as Foreign Minister, Rodrigues took on the bulk of negotiations on the Namibia-Cuban troops question.

In 1986 he was named a member of the Defense and Security Council. Long thought to be one of dos Santos's intimates, it was a surprise when he was placed briefly under house arrest in late 1988. It was thought at the time that Rodrigues may have been involved in a coup attempt by senior military officers concerned about the security ramifications of the Cuban troop withdrawals required by the Cuban-South African-Angolan peace accord signed in December, 1988. Recently he has resurfaced as an advocate for Angola's tiny business community. He has wide-

spread connections and is expected to play some role in a postwar Angola.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN ANGOLA. [Igreja Católica em Angola]. The Roman Catholic Church in Angola began as the Church of Kongo, introduced by secular Canons of St. John the Evangelist from Lisbon in 1491 at Mbanza Kongo. Following a royal embassy from the *Mwene Kongo* Afonso I of Kongo to the Pope in 1513, Afonso's son, Henrique, was made titular Bishop of Utica (North Africa) in 1514. He was not only the first Angolan bishop, but the first sub-Saharan African bishop in Catholic history.

Before modern colonial times the church came first under the Order of Christ, then the Diocese of Funchal (1514), the Diocese of São Tomé (1534), the Diocese of Congo and Angola, with its see in Mbanza Kongo (São Salvador) (1596), and finally the Diocese of Angola and Congo, with its see in Luanda (1669).

The church had at least three modes of existence in Angola during the early colonial era. It was deeply entrenched in Kongo, particularly among the aristocracy. It was the only Christian denomination in the *conquista*, and thus the religion of Portuguese expatriates, emigrés, and the Afro-Portuguese. And it was the church of the missionary orders, working slowly out from the coast mostly in tandem with economic and military frontiers.

During the modern colonial era, particularly under the New State, the church became very much identified with the colonial government, receiving preferential treatment and subsidies to provide particularly educational services to meet colonial needs. Some members of the clergy were identified with the nationalists during the national liberation struggle, but the majority were felt to be government supporters. Relations between church and state since independence have not always been cordial, as the government

moved to gain control of education, media, and ideology. However, the church has continued to function and even to grow rapidly, with an increasingly high proportion of indigenous clergy and religious. As of approximately 1980, the church had over 1.6 million adult communicants, comprising about 90 percent of the Christian community in Angola.

RUANCANA FALLS. See KUNENE RIVER.

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SANGUMBA, JORGE ISAAC (1944-1980). Born near Huambo (Nova Lisboa) of Protestant Ovimbundu parents, Sangumba moved with his parents in 1948 to Cabinda, where he began his education. He attended secondary schools at Malanje, from 1955 to 1961 and from 1961 to 1963.

Sangumba at first worked for MPLA distributing pamphlets. Forced into exile at age 18, he made his way to Dar es Salaam, where he made contacts who arranged a scholarship for him to study in the United States. He attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and Manhattan College in New York from 1964 to 1968, and graduated with a degree in political science.

After meeting Jonas Savimbi in Cairo in 1968, Sangumba joined UNITA and traveled as a party envoy in several African countries. In 1969 he was named Foreign Minister. From 1970 to 1972 he served also as party representative in London and edited the UNITA magazine, *Kwacha Angola*. While in the English capital he gained a diploma in international affairs from the University of London.

Recalled from abroad in 1979, Sangumba was reportedly executed in 1979 or 1980 after a disagreement with Savimbi.

SANTOS, JOSÉ EDUARDO DOS (1942-). Born August 28, 1942, in Luanda, dos Santos became an active member of the JMPLA at age 19. He enlisted in the MPLA's guerrilla army in 1962. An excellent student, he was sent to study in the USSR on an MPLA scholarship from 1963 to 1970, graduating with degrees in petroleum engineering and radar telecommunications.

Dos Santos served as MPLA representative in Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of the Congo. In September, 1974 he was elevated to the MPLA Central Committee and was ranked fifth on the Politburo. He served as Foreign Minister in the first MPLA government and then as first Vice Prime Minister. He was dismissed in a December, 1978 government reshuffle, but was immediately appointed both as Minister of National Planning and as Party Secretary for Economic Development and Planning.

Only 37 when he was appointed to succeed Agostinho Neto as president on September 21, 1979, dos Santos moved swiftly to consolidate his power. A political moderate and pragmatic by temperament, he has gradually replaced the more ideological veterans of the war of independence with competent technocrats, but without resorting to disruptive purges. As the military situation continued to dominate Angolan politics, dos Santos assumed extensive emergency powers and concentrated more and more of the decision-making process in his inner circle.

The Second Ordinary Congress of the MPLA, held in December, 1985, capped the transition from the Neto era to that of dos Santos. The Congress ratified his previous actions and elected his loyalists to the Politburo and Central Committee.

By the end of the 1980s it was apparent that dos Santos faced little opposition within his own party. He was even certain enough on his power to explore power sharing with individual members of UNITA, to preside over the restructuring of the Angolan econo-

my, to preside over the abandonment of Marxist-Leninism, and to finally sign a peace accord that would force him to compete against Jonas Savimbi in democratic elections. However, the prospect of free elections have raised serious doubts whether the cool and colorless engineer can defeat the charismatic Savimbi in a general election campaign.

SÃO TOMÉ. This island in the Gulf of Guinea was uninhabited until the early 16th century, when it was settled by Portuguese holding captaincies from King D. João I. These newcomers, usually acting independently of the royal government which had appointed them, pioneered a regional trading system linking the developed parts of the West African coast. Through their Kongo marriage alliances they became the earliest ancestors of the Afro-Portuguese population of Angola, as well as São Tomé.

São Tomé settlers also pioneered in establishing the Atlantic slave trade in the region to supply labor for the sugar plantations they founded on the island. Although they initially bought slaves from Kongo and Benin, changing conditions caused them to turn to Mbundu country after 1526. They established export facilities at Luanda, linking Mbundu with São Tomé--exchanging regional manufactures for the slaves they needed for their plantations.

São Tomé continued to be a major importer of labor from Angola from the 16th century right into the 20th. Even after the formal end of the slave trade, people "contracting" for the plantations in São Tomé seldom returned to their homes on the mainland. An international scandal about labor practices in São Tomé in the early 20th century led to reforms of the system of contract labor, but these were only fully implemented in the 1920s.

São Tomé became independent from Portugal in 1975. It is a member of "The Five," the informal

cooperative of Lusophone African countries, and continues to have close ties to Angola. See also AFRO-PORTUGUESE; LUSOPHONE AFRICA; SLAVE TRADE.

SAVIMBI, JONAS MALHEIROS (1934-). He was born August 3, 1934, at Muhango in Moxico province, where his father was an employee on the Benguela Railway. Savimbi attended the Protestant primary school at his father's village in Bié province. He was also educated at Dondi Mission School and in secondary schools in Silva Porto and Sá da Bandeira. In 1958 he was awarded a scholarship by the United Church of Christ to study medicine at the University of Lisbon. In 1960 he transferred to Fribourg University and then to the University of Lausanne, Switzerland, where he studied political science. Despite his later use of the honorific "Doctor," there is no evidence that he received any advanced degree.

In 1961 he joined the UPA, soon becoming its General-Secretary. He was the first Ovimbundu to be given a major position in Holden Roberto's party. With Roberto, he played a key role in negotiating the alliance of the PDA and the UPA and in the creation of FNLA/GRAE. In April, 1962 he was appointed foreign minister of the government-in-exile.

Disillusioned with Roberto and his leadership, Savimbi and other Ovimbundu broke with the FNLA/GRAE in 1964 and formed a new group, AMANGOLA, a move that culminated in March, 1966 with the founding inside Angola of UNITA. From July, 1968 to April, 1974 Savimbi went underground, organizing UNITA political, educational, and military activities in eastern and southern Angola, and leaving much of the marshalling of external support to other UNITA representatives.

An acknowledged orator and charismatic leader, Savimbi came into his own after he concluded a

cease-fire between Portugal and UNITA in June, 1974. He moved into southern and central Angola, mobilizing support for his party and allaying the fears of Angola's white community. With Portugal, Neto, and Roberto, he concluded the Alvor Agreement in January, 1975, and he traveled widely in Angola rallying support for UNITA. His uneasy alliance with Roberto in the establishment of a government in opposition to Neto in November, 1975 was short-lived.

After the MPLA took power, Savimbi returned underground into the bush of southeastern Angola with UNITA forces, directing guerrilla activities against the government. While for the most part Savimbi has left the job of lobbying for international support to subordinates, after the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 he frequently visited the U.S. and became something of a hero to the American right.

As the 1980s came to a close, reports of dissension in UNITA ranks over Savimbi's allegedly dictatorial style emerged. In 1988 and 1989 pro-UNITA Angolan students in Lisbon and London accused Savimbi of having had several of his rivals executed. The heavy casualties suffered by UNITA forces supporting the SADF in its attack on Cuito Cuavanale sparked criticism of Savimbi's loyalty to South Africa from cadres who opposed Savimbi's decision to join in a conventional war against superior FAPLA forces. As recently as 1990, former UNITA chief of staff Demosthenes Amos Chilingutilla went into the growing anti-Savimbi opposition, defecting to Botswana with 100-200 UNITA fighters.

Despite signs of internal fissures in UNITA, Savimbi is clearly the front-runner in the fall 1992 elections set by the peace accord signed by UNITA and the MPLA in Lisbon. His personal charisma and political skills have been evident in the intensive campaigning schedule he has maintained since his triumphal return to Luanda on September 29, 1991. He has

been careful to steer clear from any power-sharing agreement that would associate him with Angola's economic crisis, hoping to capitalize on antigovernment sentiment to win votes across the ethnic and ideological spectrum. See AMANGOLA; UNITA.

SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA. This is a term used in the general historical literature to designate the late-19th-century era during which European powers divided the African continent among themselves. The diplomatic watershed in this process came at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, where the assembled powers agreed on the rules for establishing their claims to African lands. Once general agreement had been reached, individual European countries were free to move toward conquest and colonial incorporation. During this era Portugal established its claims to the territory of modern Angola.

SEGMENTARY STATES. Many early kingdoms in Angola are classified as being of the segmentary variety. In this type of political organization kings were typically weak, with real power decentralized in localized, territorially based lineages. In such systems the king was basically as strong as his own lineage and its allies made him. Control over powerful titles, trade revenues, a warrior society, a religious cult, tribute, and/or scarce resources could enhance royal authority. But these sources of power were also actually or potentially competitive in the absence of the standing armies and established bureaucracies that characterize more centralized states. See also LINEAGE.

SERPA PINTO. Town. See MENONGUE. Individual. See PINTO.

SERTANEJO. This Portuguese term, meaning a person of the back country, was used in Angola, especially in the

19th century, to refer to a European or Afro-European trader/settler of the Central Highlands. See also PINTO; PORTO.

SERTÃO. A Portuguese word meaning interior or hinterland, *sertão* is commonly used in both Angola and Brazil to refer to the inland regions of the country (by implication the backwoods, the "bush").

SERVIÇÃES. This term, literally meaning "servants" in Portuguese, was often used in the Angolan context in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a euphemism for forced laborers, even slaves. For example, people recruited by methods that were continuous with those of the transatlantic slave trade for work on the cocoa plantations of São Tomé were so designated. See also FORCED LABOR.

SETTLERS. The term settlers is used in an Angolan context to mean those Europeans who relocated to the territory with the intention of becoming permanent residents. There were very few such people in Angola before the 20th century. Most Europeans were either temporary residents, such as administrators, businessmen, soldiers, and missionaries, or exiled criminals (*degradados*), who were, in effect, forced immigrants.

Most of the permanent "European" residents of the early colony were of Afro-Portuguese descent. In 1900 the European (white) population numbered only about 9,200 and was concentrated in the coastal towns of Luanda, Benguela, and Namibe, indicating that its members planned only temporary residence.

From the effective end of the transatlantic slave trade, the Portuguese government began to envision white settlement schemes to strengthen its colonial political and economic control, as well as to advance its goals of "civilizing" (converting to Portuguese culture) the African population. The settlement of

Namibe (Moçâmedes) by Portuguese fishermen in 1849 was the only notably successful result of this effort in the 19th century.

Settlement schemes in the 20th century concentrated on relocating Portuguese peasant farmers to interior lands in the colony. However, before World War II these plans were doomed by the fact that Portugal was still sending convicts to Angola, thus giving it a poor reputation among free Portuguese; also, immigrants tended to quickly turn from farming to petty trading. See also COLONOS; SERTANEJOS.

SILVA PORTO. Town. See BIÉ. Individual. See PORTO.

SLAVE TRADE. The export of African captives as slave labor began with the development of sugar plantations on São Tomé in the early 16th century. In the 1570s the expansion of Brazilian sugar production led to a steady increase in the demand for Angolan slave labor. In the mid-17th century the demand again escalated, as the Dutch and other European powers expanded sugar production into the Caribbean and entered the competition to obtain captive labor from West Central Africa.

By 1700 the inland zone of raiding and trading to supply slaves to American plantations had grown to such an extent that it was coterminous with the zone of Atlantic-oriented trade itself. The system now affected all modern Angolan peoples except Ngangela communities beyond the Kwango, and the Ambo and other agro-pastoralists of the lower Kunene River valley. It was the inland expansion of the transatlantic slave trade which first linked many of the region's autonomous communities, states, and peoples together.

From the early 18th century until the effective abolition of the slave trade in the mid-19th century, the demand for slave labor and the prices paid for the enslaved abroad increased steadily. England and France, Europe's "big powers" of the era, dominated

the Atlantic--financially, commercially and militarily. They opened new ports along the Kongo coast and infiltrated Portuguese markets almost at will. They added better quality hardware, weapons, and textiles to the list of imports, making these products available to African merchants on credit at lower prices than those of the Portuguese. They backed a new influx of metropolitan merchants and capital into Luanda, setting in motion forces which undermined the Afro-Portuguese economic sector. All these changes contributed significantly to further expansion of the Atlantic zone into the Zaire and Zambezi basins, as well as to the intensification of Angolan African involvement in the Atlantic-based slaving economy.

By the early-19th-century advent of the Industrial Revolution in England, the economic incorporation of Angolan communities into the global capitalist economy was well advanced. Unlike Europe the economic relationships generated by the expansion of the slave trade benefitted few in Africa, contributing little to overall regional economic development. The best labor was exported; key local manufactures were gradually replaced with foreign imports; social and legal structures were distorted by the pressures to produce captives for export; and the most ambitious businessmen were devoted to the profitable exchange of captives for foreign imports.

International conditions again changed substantially between 1790 and 1820, when European wars and increasingly stringent laws outlawing the slave trade disrupted the maritime commerce. However, when American merchant shipping took over from the departed Europeans, exports again rose to high levels, where they remained until enforcement of international abolition laws finally became effective in the 1840s. By 1865 the transatlantic slave trade from Angola had ended. The internal commerce in captives, however, continued, as captives continued to be enslaved, sold

and put to work in export production, portage, and public works. Slaves also continued to be shipped to São Tomé for work on cocoa plantations until the first decades of the 20th century. See also BRAZIL; FORCED LABOR; PORTUGAL; SÃO TOMÉ.

SLAVERY. Various forms of dependency, including slavery, pawnship, and clientage arrangements, probably existed in Angolan agricultural societies from early times, since control over labor and reproductive resources was necessary to build up wealth and political power. Raiding and warfare were certainly the most common means of producing slaves, although drought and famine certainly played a role in putting individuals and communities at risk.

Although slavery itself was not new, the extensive trade in captives and their use as slaves for plantation agriculture both date from the introduction of the Atlantic slave export system in the 16th century. The impetus for the expansion of slavery and the slave trade in West Central Africa came from American demand, backed by European capital. However, strong states in Angola not only participated in the capture and sale of slaves for export, but also imported them for internal use in trade, transport, agriculture, and personal retinues.

Slavery was abolished in Portuguese Angola in 1878, when Portugal controlled not much more than the ancient *conquista* lands. Even in the colony slaves were often forced to remain on with their masters as low-paid servants. With the early 20th century expansion of the colony into its modern borders outright slavery declined, but forced labor remained pervasive until the 1960s. See also FORCED LABOR; SERVIÇÃES.

SOBA. Portuguese generic term for chief, king, local political leader, etc., of an African community or state. See also CONQUISTA.

SOCIETY. Although many local variations exist, Angolans share many historic similarities in social organization and ideology. African societies in Angola have long been preponderantly agricultural and rural, with women doing most farming and men virtually monopolizing hunting and related activities, including war and politics. Typically, free village residents claimed relationship to each other by descent or marriage. Often the founders were closely related males, who lived with their wives, children, and dependents, including clients and slaves.

Descent groups, now usually called lineages by scholars, formed the basic sociopolitical units. Marriage alliances between individuals of different lineages constituted the basic stuff of local social and political affairs, while reverence for lineage elders, ancestors, and their ways anchored the moral and cultural life of the people.

Some historic Angolan communities kept social superstructures beyond ties of marriage and kinship to a minimum. These so-called segmentary societies predominated among southern pastoralists, but were also found elsewhere, notably among the Chokwe. Both among basically egalitarian, segmentary peoples and their more hierarchical, centralized neighbors a variety of socially cross-cutting institutions were employed to transcend kinship limits. Among these institutions were warrior-hunter associations; religious cults associated with a particular place or function, such as rainmaking; trading networks; political titles, including those of kings; and Roman Catholicism. In the case of states, one or more of these institutions would be employed to create centralized and sometimes quite large-scale sociopolitical structures.

Modern Angolan society is still predominantly rural in character, with a majority of people's lives influenced by long-standing community beliefs and practices, now mixed with elements of more recent introduction, such as rapid urbanization, radio, schooling, mass political organizations and incessant warfare. The 1975 advent of an independent Angola with a government which espouses socialism on the political and economic levels and Africanization on the cultural level has been itself a very significant source of social change. However, this has been eclipsed by the catastrophic changes facing the millions who have now been displaced by the ongoing conflict in the countryside.

The Angolan Constitution emphasizes citizen participation and socialist equality, including that between the sexes. Education and health care are free, but there are ubiquitous shortages and centralized bureaucracies to deal with. Health care and social services have also been two of the principal casualties of war.

Even without the enormous stresses of war, Angolan society today would be experiencing painfully rapid change. The country is young, with four in ten people under the age of fifteen. It is modernizing, with attendant dislocations, particularly for peasants. They have few resources, and lack the political connections and even minimal modern skills with which to advance themselves into the bureaucratic, increasingly technologically oriented, Party-dominated national elite. As has been the case historically, it is those with Portuguese, Afro-Portuguese or *assimilado* backgrounds who have succeeded since independence. It remains to be seen whether programs to expand literacy and technological skills, ones designed to promote both new socialist and old African values, and those to develop grassroots organizations and people's power can heal the rural-urban split, paving the way for a

new, unified Angolan society of the 21st century. See also CULTURE; EDUCATION; MASS ORGANIZATIONS.

SOROMENHO, FERNANDO MONTEIRO DE CASTRO (1910-1968). Writer, born of Portuguese parents in Mozambique. His family moved to Angola in 1911. Although he was sent to school in Portugal, he returned to Angola in 1925, where he worked for DIAMANG and later as a civil servant and a journalist. He returned to Lisbon in 1937 and started his own publishing house, *Edições Sul*. Forced to close his business by authorities, he fled to France in 1960, and died in exile in Brazil in the following year.

Soromenho was one of the first Portuguese writers to move away from an exotic approach in his portrayal of African society, and to attempt to present it to Portuguese readers in a more realistic manner. He wrote from a belief in the common humanity of people, their experiences and emotions, regardless of ethnic origins. Several of his stories are set in eastern Angola, an area with which he was particularly familiar. Soromenho's early writings nevertheless betray an ethnocentric and paternalistic attitude that drew criticism from later nationalist writers. He was most successful when dealing with colonial situations of social transition and cultural conflict.

SOUSA COUTINHO, FRANCISCO DE INOCÊNCIO DE.
See COUTINHO.

SOUTH AFRICA. Because of its long occupation of neighboring Namibia, its historic military and economic domination of southern Africa, and its policy of destabilizing the region in order to bolster its apartheid system, South Africa is one of Angola's most important neighbors, even though the two nations share no border. For many years South Africa was the major

external supporter of UNITA, and it has repeatedly attempted to topple the MPLA government in Angola since its inception. At various times Angola has been a major sanctuary for the leadership and guerrillas of the African National Congress and SWAPO.

From 1975 until 1988, in one form or another, South Africa and Angola were at war. Recently, however, there has been a gradual easing of tensions. In 1988 the two nations joined Cuba in a pact that called for Cuba and South Africa to eventually remove their military forces from Angola and Namibia. In 1990 South Africa began a process of internal dialogue that has tended to preclude the military adventures of the past. See also SOUTH AFRICAN WAR; NAMIBIA.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR. The origins of the war with South Africa are found in the late stages of the 1974-75 civil war in Angola. After it became likely that MPLA would take power in the struggle following the Portuguese withdrawal, the South African military (SADF) intervened with armor and infantry. Only the timely arrival of Cuban combat forces prevented the SADF from imposing a government of its choosing at that time.

The consolidation of MPLA power and the continuing presence of the Cuban military led to a temporary lull in military activity until August, 1981, when the SADF launched "Operation Protea," a 5,000-troop invasion of Kunene province. It was the first major military offensive by South Africa since 1977. The SADF occupied an 80-mile-deep buffer zone in the province, from which it launched helicopter-borne commando raids. In early December, 1983 the SADF again invaded with 10,000 troops in "Operation Askari," a drive to destroy SWAPO bases in southeast Angola. The city of Kasinga was seized. The UN Security Council condemned the invasion.

From July to October of 1985, FAPLA launched a major offensive against UNITA. Aiming at Jonas Savimbi's headquarters in Jamba, the government forces reached as close as Mavinga before intervention by the South African air force helped UNITA to stop the offensive there.

Following its unsuccessful attack on Jamba in 1985, FAPLA built up its air force in order to compete with SADF for control of the air. In mid-September, 1987 Angola attacked SADF-held Mavinga with ground and air forces based at Cuito Cuanavale. The South African and UNITA forces were able to hold the city, but only with significant losses. In December, the South Africa military decided to counterattack, apparently believing that this was their last chance to decisively beat the Angolans before domestic conflict forced the government to withdraw from an active role in Angola. In January, 1988 SADF and a significant force from UNITA attacked Cuito Cuavanale and placed it under siege. After a fierce February battle, the city was relieved, restoring the stalemate. This futile engagement forced SADF to reevaluate its assessment of FAPLA. In September SADF withdrew to its buffer zone near the border as part of a U.S.-Cuban-brokered agreement.

While the armed forces of Angola and South Africa were engaged in combat, the two nations' diplomats were joined with those of Cuba in the endgame of a long series of talks aimed at Namibian independence and a reduction of Cuban troops in Angola. In December, 1988 the three powers finally reached agreement on a timetable for Namibian independence. The accord signaled the apparent end of the South African war. In 1989, SADF withdrew into its own territory. The dramatic release from prison of Nelson Mandela in 1990 and the efforts of South African political leadership to revamp their own society make it unlikely

that they will again engage in the kinds of foreign wars that marked the last two decades.

SOUTHERN AFRICA. A term used by historians and other analysts and observers to indicate some part of sub-equatorial Africa which is greater than just the nation of South Africa. The term has referred to as small an area as that south of the northern borders of Namibia, Botswana, South Africa, and Swaziland, or as large an area as all of the continent from the equatorial forest south to the sea, along with the Malagasy Republic and other Indian Ocean islands with ties to the continent.

Since the development of such regional alliances as the Front Line States and SADCC, the term has generally meant all countries south of a line following the southern border of Zaire and the northern borders of Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Although Tanzania is included in both the regional organizations cited, it is most frequently grouped with neighboring Kenya and Uganda as East Africa in regional terms.

SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATION CONFERENCE (SADCC). SADCC was founded by the black-majority-ruled nations of southern Africa in 1979 to integrate regional development efforts and to institute concrete measures to help counter the region's historic dependence on the white-dominated Republic of South Africa. Members include Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. SADCC holds an annual summit of member heads of state.

In April, 1980 the conference met in Zambia and issued the Lusaka Declaration, which spelled out as SADCC goals the reduction of members' dependence on South Africa for transportation links, manufactured goods and electric power. SADCC drafted a plan to build and strengthen railways and highways that bypassed South Africa. Although it received

pledges from West European and international institutions to finance the plan's implementation, South African-backed insurgencies in Angola and Mozambique hampered the development of alternate transportation links.

SOVIET UNION. See USSR.

SOYO. [Nsoyo, Sonyo]. An old province of the Kongo kingdom, situated at the mouth of the Zaire River. The governors of Soyo were able to use their direct access to transatlantic commerce to build up independent wealth and power. This contributed to the outbreak of civil war in Kongo in 1670, and to the subsequent decentralization of the kingdom.

As Soyo became more and more distinct from the Mbanza Kongo sphere, the people there, like those of Zombo, came to speak a variant of central Kikongo, and to be spoken of as Solongo [Sonongo, Sorongo], a "subgroup" of Kongo.

The modern town of Soyo has its roots in the Kongo port of Mpinda. The latter was superseded in the 18th century by Santo António do Zaire, a new, major regional port. Renamed after independence, in recent years Soyo has prospered because of its proximity to offshore oil reserves which are still being developed.

SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE. This basic, locally self-sufficient type of farming has been the economic base of Angolans for more than 1,000 years. In the late 15th century foreign observers in Kongo noted that agriculture was the dominant economic activity, not only meeting local consumption needs, but also providing a surplus which fueled state-formation and trade. Principal pre-Atlantic-era crops were yams, pulses, sorghum, candle millet, and *luco* (*Eleusine coracana*). Several species of banana and palm trees were also

cultivated. Livestock included fowls, goats, pigs and, in the relatively tse-tse-free south, cattle.

Transatlantic commerce brought two New World crops of great importance to Angolan subsistence agriculture: maize (sweet corn) and cassava (manioc). In particular, cassava improved food supplies in the more tropical zones and maize in the subtropical Central Highlands. Potatoes and tobacco also have achieved some importance.

As is the case in most other parts of tropical Africa, women play a central role in subsistence agricultural production in Angola. Except for heavy clearing, women are responsible for most farming duties, as well as food processing, preparation, and retail marketing. However, men have generally predominated in the cultivation of tree crops, in cattle rearing, long-distance trade, and control over labor supplies.

SUMBE. Town. Founded in 1767 as a part of a Portuguese colonial strategy to gain better control over slave exports. Known as Novo Redondo for most of its history this port, located on the Atlantic coast between Luanda and Benguela, has played second fiddle to these older and larger neighbors. It is the capital of Kwanza North province.

-T-

TOCO, SIMÃO GONÇALVES (1918-1984). Founder, in 1949, of an independent Christian church which bears his name, Simão Toco was born near Maquela do Zombo, in Kongo country. He received his early education in Baptist Missionary Schools, and secondary training in Luanda. From 1937 to 1943 he taught at mission schools in northern Angola. In 1943 he moved to Kinshasa (Leopoldville), where he helped to organize mutual-aid groups among Zombo immigrants, and directed the choir of the Baptist mission church.

During this time he was influenced by the teaching of the Kimbanguist and Watch Tower churches, especially by their ideas on millennialism.

In 1949, following a revelation, he and 12 of his followers founded their own church, the Church of Jesus Christ in the World, with Toco as prophet and leader and the 12 as appointed apostles. Known as Tokoists, they preached separation from white society, a puritanical lifestyle, and the virtues of self-reliant behavior. As with many prophet-churches of the colonial period, the Tokoist movement came to be seen by the Belgian and Portuguese authorities as a focus of black nationalist sentiment and a threat to the colonial regime. In fact, Toco advocated African personal and social reform and rejection of white society, not political action against it.

In December, 1949 he and other Tokoist leaders in Congo were arrested by the Belgians and handed over to the Angolan authorities. He was detained by the Portuguese and sent into exile as a lighthouse keeper from 1955 to 1962. Briefly released in 1962, he traveled among his followers in northern Angola, urging them to come out of hiding and to move to Portuguese resettlement villages. However, in 1963, still viewed as a potential political threat, he was exiled to the Azores.

In 1976 the church again came under government repression, this time when Agostinho Neto accused it of being the religious arm of FNLA. Although Toco died in 1984, the church he founded lives on, although subject to periodic factional strife. See also INDEPENDENT CHURCHES.

TONHA, PEDRO MÁRIO "PEDALE". In 1979 Tonha was appointed Deputy Defense Minister. From 1980 to 1990 he served as Defense Minister. In December, 1986 he was promoted in military rank to colonel general. Tonha, the MPLA-PT's highest ranking

Cabindan, was dismissed in 1990 for allegedly maintaining contact with his relative, UNITA Secretary-General Miguel N'Zau Puna.

TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. Set up by Portugal and the three liberation movements in the Alvor Agreement on January 15, 1975, the Transitional Government was given the responsibility of governing Angola from the end of January, 1975 to independence day, November 11, 1975. In particular it was to draft a provisional constitution and conduct legislative elections. The Transitional Government was headed by a Portuguese High Commissioner and had a premiership which rotated among the three liberation movements. There was a 12-member Cabinet, with Portugal and the three African parties each holding three ministries. Each liberation movement contributed 8,000 troops to an integrated army, together with 24,000 Portuguese troops.

This government collapsed in July after fighting between the three liberation movements made peaceful cooperation impossible. In August the Portuguese formally dissolved the already defunct Transitional Government. The High Commissioner remained as the titular head of government until, on the appointed day, he declared Angola independent, and then decamped.

TUBA, PAULO (1941-). Of Kongo heritage, Tuba received a B.S. in political science from Manhattan College in 1967. He returned to Angola to rejoin the anticolonial struggle and rose through the ranks to become a member of the FNLA military staff. In 1981 Tuba helped to oust Holden Roberto as head of FNLA and co-chaired FNLA's successor, COMIRA. In March, 1989 he met with dos Santos in Luanda and made peace with the government. In 1990 he was reported to be working for Laxalt, Washington, Perito &

Dubuc, a U.S. law firm with ties to the Angolan government.

-U-

UÍGE. Town and province. Uíge province, which covers eastern Kongo and part of Ndembu, is a prime coffee-growing region of the country. The provincial capital, also named Uíge, was called Carmona during the colonial era.

Uíge was the scene of bloody uprisings and draconic government reprisals in the turning-point year of 1961. Following the rebellion many residents fled to Zaire. From 1961 to 1974 Uíge and neighboring Zaire provinces became the main operations areas for UPA/FNLA guerrillas. Both town and region were the center of FNLA activities during the 1974-76 civil war.

UNIÃO DAS POPULAÇÕES DE ANGOLA (UPA). SEE FNLA; MODERN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS; ROBERTO.

UNIÃO DAS POPULAÇÕES DO NORTE DE ANGOLA (UPNA). SEE MODERN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS; ROBERTO.

UNIÃO DOS ESCRITORES ANGOLANOS (UEA). The Angolan Writers Union was founded in 1975 by leading intellectuals associated with MPLA. It was proclaimed by Angolan President Agostinho Neto at the Cinema 10 Dezembro on December 10, 1975. As a part of the ceremonies Neto gave a discourse which set the ideological tone for cultural affairs under the MPLA. He emphasized the role of the writer in the formation of the new socialist society, and reasserted the importance of overcoming the heritage of colonial-

ism and slavery through focusing on workers and peasants.

The Writers Union publishes a literary magazine, *Lavra e Oficina*, as well as a literary section in the Sunday *Jornal de Angola*. UEA has also undertaken several series of publications oriented toward reinvigorating African values: Coleção 2K; Serie Contemporaneos; Cadernos Lavra e Oficina; and Edições Especiais. It also sponsors series such as the Collection of Angolan Authors, which enables both established and younger authors to reach a wider audience inside Angola. In addition a national literary prize is offered annually, and there are ongoing efforts to encourage young writers through competitions and through publications aimed at young audiences, but drawn from the experiences of everyday life. See also LITERATURE.

UNIÃO NACIONAL PARA A INDEPENDÊNCIA TOTAL DE ANGOLA (UNITA). Following his break with Holden Roberto and FNLA in December, 1964, Jonas Savimbi moved to Lusaka, Zambia, where he founded a new Angolan liberation front. Interest in the new movement came from three main sources: Ovimbundu who had been previously been involved in GRAE and AMANGOLA; Angolan students abroad; and Angolan refugees in Zambia: members of former Chokwe, Lwena, and Luchazi self-help associations in Lusaka.

The actual founding of UNITA dates from a meeting inside eastern Angola in March, 1966. A Central Committee was elected in September, 1966. Unable to secure support from African countries or the USSR, UNITA turned to the Chinese for vital military training and weapons. In December, 1966 UNITA guerrillas opened up an eastern front with an attack on the Benguela Railway, temporarily cutting the westward flow of Zairean and Zambian copper. In retaliation Zambia exiled Savimbi and UNITA, leaving them without an external base contiguous to Angola. After

a short stay in Egypt, Savimbi returned to Angola in June, 1968, remaining underground inside the country until April, 1974.

During the period of the liberation struggle against the Portuguese, UNITA was militarily the weakest of the three movements. It had little external structure apart from its London office and did not have functional organizations like the FNLA or MPLA. It lacked any major external source of arms, receiving only a modest supply of weapons from China. UNITA retained a low profile and concentrated on constructing and educating a self-reliant political underground inside Angola.

In June, 1974, following the cease-fire with Portugal, UNITA moved into the overwhelmingly Ovimbundu Central Highlands, its natural political stronghold. In January, 1975 UNITA joined with Portugal, FNLA and MPLA in the Transitional Government. At the same time Savimbi, an effective and charismatic leader, traveled widely in Angola and outside, soliciting support for his party. He was particularly successful in calming the fears and winning the support of Angola's European community. As the civil war escalated during 1975, Savimbi had to seek out external support and turned to South Africa, a move that damned him and UNITA in the eyes of many, particularly in the rest of Africa. His attempt in November, 1975 to form a coalition with Roberto in opposition to the RPA failed, and by March, 1976 UNITA had lost the war to MPLA and Cuba.

At that time UNITA returned to the bush in eastern and southwestern Angola, mainly in Bié, Moxico, and Kwando-Kubango provinces, and began to operate a low-level guerilla war against the Angolan government. In the late 1970s UNITA was expelled from Zaire and Zambia, leaving South Africa as its main external ally.

While FNLA and FLEC rapidly disintegrated after the MPLA victory, UNITA was able to survive, bolstered by its strong base in the Ovimbundu community and by consistent military support by the South African army, which invaded Angola several times in the 1980s to assist UNITA forces. In 1981 Operation Protea pushed 75 miles into Angola. During 1982 and 1983 FAPLA made serious inroads against UNITA's forces, but South African forces prevented UNITA's defeat.

In January, 1984 South Africa pulled back its regular forces as part of the Lusaka Accord. In retreat they laid waste to a large portion of southwestern Angola in order to create a desolate buffer zone. This policy caused dissension in UNITA's ranks: a unit of Ambo troops led by António Vakulakuta attempted to defect to SWAPO.

The late 1980s saw a very successful UNITA bid for support from the U.S. In August, 1985 the Clark Amendment banning aid to Angolan rebels was repealed. In January, 1986 Savimbi made a triumphant visit to the United States. In February the U.S. began providing military aid, including Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

However, in 1987 and 1988 the U.S., Angola, Cuba and South Africa made progress on talks linking Namibian independence to Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola. The signing of the Namibia-Angolan Accord in early 1989 increased pressure on both UNITA and the Angolan government for reconciliation. In June, 1989 Angolan President dos Santos and Savimbi shook hands on a cease-fire and continued talks.

The changing international climate has highlighted splits within the UNITA leadership, including allegations from within UNITA about the authoritarian nature of Savimbi's leadership. While the internal dynamics of UNITA's leadership have always been

murky to outsiders, according to UNITA-watchers the younger UNITA activists have become weary of war and are anxious to begin national reconstruction. They are responsive to prodding by the U.S. on reconciliation talks. The old guard around Savimbi has many old wounds and is distrustful of both the MPLA-PT government and the U.S., which it sees as having deserted it after the first Angolan civil war.

Perhaps as a result of these dynamics, in late 1988 stories began to emerge in the Western press about human rights violations and the murder of political rivals by Savimbi and his allies in UNITA. While UNITA has an organizational structure, the party has always been subordinate to Savimbi's charismatic leadership. The recent defections from UNITA's ranks may indicate dissatisfaction among ambitious members who have chafed under Savimbi's autocratic management style. The legalization of UNITA and the upcoming election campaign will challenge the secretive former guerrilla movement to operate in a more open and democratic manner, and the new openness could bring to the surface disagreements within the party that Savimbi will be forced to handle without resort to the authoritarian powers available to a guerrilla leader.

USSR. The Soviet Union has been one of the MPLA government's closest international supporters since its inception, providing significant military and financial assistance and important diplomatic support to its socialist ally over the last 15 years.

Soviet support for the MPLA began in the 1960s, fostered by both groups' mutual relations with the Portuguese Communist Party. The USSR provided arms, medicine, scholarships and diplomatic support to the fledgling Marxist liberation movement. Despite these close ties, the USSR supported the coalition government that took power after the withdrawal of the

Portuguese colonial government in 1974, and encouraged MPLA to participate. Only after the significant influx of Chinese arms and advisors to FNLA began, in early 1975, to threaten the existence of MPLA, did the USSR increase its military assistance. The decision to send Cuban troops into the war in late 1975 appears to have been made by Fidel Castro alone, without the prior approval of the USSR. Nevertheless, the USSR did provide large and decisive military supply shipments.

After MPLA secured power in 1975, the USSR continued to provide military assistance, and over the years Angola has built up a formidable military force. During the 1980s the Soviets helped provide Angola with a modern, effective air force, paid for in part with Angolan petroleum profits. The USSR has also provided significant educational and economic assistance, although more than 90 percent of Angola's foreign aid comes from Western nations.

Despite their seemingly close ties, Soviet-Angolan diplomatic relations have been strained at times. Some loyalists of President Neto blamed the USSR for the 1977 coup attempt by the pro-Soviet ideologue Nito Alves, and the Soviet ambassador at the time was expelled. Under Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership, the Soviets have encouraged Angola to participate in the Namibian independence talks, and have urged an expansion of Angola's economic ties with the West.

Recently, the USSR has prodded the MPLA toward talks with UNITA. In December, 1990, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met with UNITA head Jonas Savimbi while U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker met with Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dumen in a superpower effort to restart Angolan peace talks.

The USSR joined in the Portuguese-brokered talks in Lisbon that ultimately led to a peace accord in May 1991.

UNITED STATES. The connection between the United States and Angola is mostly a modern one, based on the interest of American companies in Angolan petroleum and the U.S. foreign policy objective of containing the spread of communism. Apart from some 19th-century coastal commodity trade, a century-old Protestant missionary effort, and the interest of African-Americans in the region as an ancestral homeland, the U.S. interest in Angola only began in the late 1950s, when Gulf Oil Company was given a major concession in Cabinda province by the Portuguese colonial government.

The 1961 outbreak of the Angolan war of independence posed a dilemma for the U.S. government. Despite its avowed anticolonialism, the U.S. needed its NATO ally Portugal's valuable Azores air bases for its farflung anticommunist commitments. During the 1960s, after a dramatic vote in the UN by the Kennedy administration supporting a resolution advocating eventual Angolan independence, the U.S. government under Lyndon Johnson settled into a policy of tacit support for Portuguese colonial policies while its attentions were focused on Southeast Asia.

The 1974 Portuguese revolution took the U.S. by surprise, and the Nixon administration scrambled to make sense of the ensuing civil war. FNLA, whose leader Holden Roberto had maintained ties to the CIA since the early 1960s, became the recipient of a massive covert assistance program, but lost the struggle for power. The U.S. refused to recognize the MPLA-led government that took control in 1975. In 1976 the U.S. Congress, disgusted by the CIA's Angola program, passed the Clark amendment, which banned future covert operations in Angola.

During the late 1970s, the "loss" of Angola became a cause célèbre of the American right. Some conservatives urged a boycott of Chevron Corp., because of the oil firm's Angolan ties. The election of

Ronald Reagan, a longtime supporter of UNITA, brought about a more active Angolan policy by the U.S. Jonas Savimbi visited the new U.S. president in 1981, and returned often to Washington in the following years. In 1985, the Clark amendment was repealed, and in 1986 the U.S. began supplying UNITA with military assistance, including Stinger anti-aircraft weapons. Meanwhile, on a separate track, the U.S. helped mediate talks between Angola, South Africa and Cuba. In 1988 these resulted in an agreement that exchanged significant Cuban troop withdrawals for Namibian independence.

As the 1980s ended, the U.S. aid program to UNITA remained in place, but the Bush administration began to put more emphasis on a negotiated settlement of the Angolan civil war. In late 1990, Secretary of State James Baker met with the Angolan foreign minister at the same time that his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze, was holding talks with Savimbi in a joint superpower effort to end the war.

The Bush administration applauded the 1991 Lisbon peace accord, while at the same time hesitating to drop its aid to UNITA. In September 1991, Angolan President dos Santos made his first visit to the U.S., lobbying for diplomatic recognition and for economic assistance and trade ties.

-V-

VAKULAKUTA, ANTÓNIO (19?-1986). An Ambo hereditary chief, Vakulakuta was born in Ndjiva on the Namibian border. He graduated from the University of Grenoble before joining UNITA. In 1984, while a Politburo member, he led a group of Ambo dissidents against UNITA's predominantly Ovimbundu leadership over the issue of South Africa's scorched-earth policy in the ethnically Ambo Kunene province. He was captured by the South African army and turned over to

UNITA. The 1984 Extraordinary Congress removed him as Commander of the Central Southern Front. In July, 1986 he disappeared. Although UNITA claims that he died of a heart attack, it is widely believed that he was executed.

VALENTIM, JORGE (1937-). Born in Lobito, Valentim completed his secondary education in Sá da Bandeira in 1958. He began college in Portugal, but fled to France in 1961 because of his political activities. As a student at Temple University in Philadelphia, he was elected in 1963 as President of the UNEA, a student organization with close links to Jonas Savimbi. Valentim remained abroad for a time as a "fervent" but unofficial UNITA publicist. By 1974, he had returned to Angola as UNITA's representative in Lobito.

In 1976 he was accused, both by MPLA and the BBC, of executing as many as 500 people while in command of a UNITA occupation of Lobito. In 1976, UNITA disciplined him for misdemeanors which alienated the population, stripped him of his Central Committee membership and sent him into internal exile for five years as information officer for guerrillas fighting in Bié.

In recent years he has regained much of his power and is now UNITA's Information Secretary. He has been accused of involvement in the alleged murders of several former UNITA officials.

VAN-DUNEM, AFONSO "MBINDA." In March, 1984 Van-Dunem became Foreign Minister; in 1985 he was made a full member of the Politburo. In 1989 he was replaced as Foreign Minister, but he remains the Central Committee's Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

VAN-DUNEM, PEDRO DE CASTRO "LOY." An alleged supporter of Nito Alves's coup attempt in 1977, Van-Dunem has been rehabilitated by dos Santos to the

point that he is widely considered dos Santos's closest ally. In 1979 Army Major Van-Dunem was made Provincial Coordination Minister. From 1980 through 1986 he had the Energy and Oil portfolios. Promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1984, he became a Politburo member in 1985. He was named the MPLA "super minister" for the Productive Sphere in 1986. In an early 1989 cabinet reshuffle, he was named Foreign Minister. Van-Dunem went to school with dos Santos, and they are considered friends.

VIEIRA, JOSÉ LUANDINO (1935-). Of Afro-Portuguese parentage, he was born José Vieira Mateus de Graça in Portugal. Luandino Vieira is one of Angola's best-known and most popular writers. He was arrested by the colonial authorities and imprisoned for his nationalist activities from 1961 to 1972. He was conditionally released in 1972 and was in Lisbon at the time of the coup in April, 1974. On his return to Luanda he was appointed Director of Programs for People's Television of Angola. He helped to found the Union of Angolan Writers and directed the MPLA government's Department of Revolutionary Orientation.

Vieira's views on national liberation and social reform are exemplified in several works. His best-known book is a collection of three long short stories entitled *Luuanda* (1964). For this he was awarded the Portuguese Writers Society award for prose fiction in 1965 (while he was in prison), and the book itself was banned as subversive by the Portuguese authorities. See also LITERATURE.

VILI. The Vili were members of a kiKongo-speaking trade diaspora based in the kingdom of Loango, located on the coast north of Cabinda. Vili traders established themselves in settlements throughout Kongo country from the late 17th century onward. They managed much of the international trade moving through the

area for more than two centuries. It was only with the end of the rubber boom and the closing of the colonial frontiers that the Vili networks lost their prominence. See also KONGO; KONGO KINGDOM; LOANGO.

VIYE. [Bié, Bihe]. One of several historically important Ovimbundu kingdoms which trace their origins to the late-16th-century development of the Imbangala. During the 17th and 18th centuries Viye's location in flatter, more open lands put it at a strategic disadvantage vis-à-vis its hill-country neighbors to the west. After a series of 18th-century wars involving the *conquista*, commercially oriented elites gained power throughout Ovimbundu. This change favored Viye, which achieved new prosperity by developing the long-distance trade from Benguela to the Upper Zambezi.

The commercial and strategic importance of the area, along with its agricultural possibilities, attracted first *sertanejos* and, later in the 19th century, Portuguese and even Boer settlers. In 1890 Portuguese forces defeated Ndunduma, the *soba* of Viye. He was captured and deported. Some Viye forces participated in the Bailundu revolt of 1902-1904, but the main resistance to Portuguese advance was over. However, in common with other Ovimbundu, the people of Viye kept their economic independence long after their political sovereignty was lost. See also IMBANGALA; MBAILUNDU; NDUNDUMA; OVIMBUNDU.

-W-

WAMBU. [Huambo]. This Ovimbundu kingdom, which gives its name to the bustling modern city of Huambo, was one of the big three in the Central Highlands by the 18th century. It was the most southerly of the major Ovimbundu kingdoms, guarding the western approach to the mountains toward Benguela. Like Mbailundu, it

was already a significant raiding state in the 17th century, which underwent a commercial revolution in the mid-18th as slave trading became more intense in the region. See OVIMBUNDU.

WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION. See NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES; CIVIL WARS.

WEST CENTRAL AFRICA. This is a term frequently used in historical writings to designate the Atlantic-coast-facing region inland from modern Gabon through southern Angola, which served as the interface between Euro-American merchants and their African counterparts during the era of the transatlantic slave trade.

WESTERN HIGHLAND BANTU. Some scholars studying the spread of Bantu languages now envision two points of "secondary dispersal" of Bantu-speakers south of the equatorial forest. The earliest of these is in the Angolan highlands and dates perhaps from the 2nd century AD. It was formed from the merger of southward-moving Neolithic Bantu-speakers and southwestward-moving, iron-using Bantu-speakers sometime around the beginning of the common era. See also BANTU DIASPORA.

WORLD BANK. See BANKING.

WOMEN. The majority of Angolan peoples practice a form of kinship organization based on the principle of matrilineality, or inheritance through the female line. While men have, as in most of the world, dominated in war and politics, a significant number of women have been prominent in this area, perhaps partly because of the prevalence of matrilineal systems. This occurred most notably in Matamba, ruled by the famous Queen Njinga in the 17th century.

Historically, and on a continuing basis in rural areas, women have played a central role in peasant agricultural production. Typically they sow, tend and harvest crops on land cleared by men. They also care for domestic animals and collect berries and other "free" gifts of the land. Women have also been associated with a wide variety of other economic activities. For example, along the coast women manufactured salt by boiling sea water. They dove for *nzimbu* shells off Luanda Island, as well as collecting other shells. Throughout the country women have been involved in local markets, particularly in the retailing of agricultural products, both processed and unprocessed.

Since independence one of the most active of the mass organizations established by MPLA has been the Organization of Angolan Women (OMA). Women played important roles in the liberation struggles, and have continued to be visible (although not numerous) in the upper ranks of the MPLA-PT and the government. See also BEATRICE; CAFE; NJINGA; OMA; SUBSISTENCE AGRICULTURE.

-Z-

ZAIRE. Country. One of Angola's most important neighbors, Zaire shares not only a border, but also historical and ethnic ties with Angola. The Kongo (Zaire's largest ethnolinguistic group) and Lunda peoples are prominent in both countries--a fact that has divided, as much as united, the two nations, and has led to refugee problems for both.

Throughout the struggle for Angolan independence, Zaire was a sanctuary for African nationalist groups--particularly those organized by Kongo speakers--who were fighting the Portuguese. During the 1974-76 Angolan civil war Zaire supported the forces of Holden Roberto's FNLA. Roberto is related to Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko by marriage.

Despite these familial ties, in early 1977 Mobutu recognized the MPLA government. He was no doubt influenced by his fellow OAU leaders, and by his nation's need to transport copper through Angola to Atlantic ports. Mobutu did continue to give refuge to FNLA and FLEC forces.

In March 1977 Zaire's Shaba Province (formerly Katanga) was attacked by Lunda rebels operating from northern Angola. Although President Neto denied complicity, relations were further strained. The MPLA complained to the OAU about Zaire's border incursions. In May, 1978 rebels once again invaded Shaba Province, seizing the mining town of Kolwezi. A French-Moroccan-U.S. force repelled the attack. President Neto denied any foreknowledge of the attack, but offered to move the 250,000 or so Zairean refugees in Angola to camps farther from the border. In July Angolan-Zairean talks in Brazzaville produced an agreement by which refugees would be repatriated, rebel forces on both sides of the border would be restrained, and the Benguela Railway would reopen for the transport of Zairean copper to the Atlantic. In August Neto visited Kinshasa, and in October Mobutu visited Luanda.

In October, 1979, after a meeting with Angola's new president, Eduardo dos Santos, Mobutu expelled the FLEC and FNLA leadership. Both nations redoubled efforts to repatriate the 100,000 Angolans in Zaire and the 250,000 Zaireans in Angola. By year's end half of the Zaireans had returned home. Meanwhile, Angola resettled the Shaban refugees in the Angolan interior.

Throughout the 1980s the Brazzaville Accord held, although relations were always somewhat cool. Angola continued to suspect that UNITA was receiving assistance from Zaire, but Mobutu continued to deny this. Under pressure from the U.S., airfields on Zaire's territory began to be used in 1986 to supply

UNITA's rebels. However, officially Mobutu still maintained correct relations with Luanda. As negotiations on Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawals drew to a close in 1989, Mobutu brokered talks between UNITA and MPLA representatives. These concluded with a dramatic handshake between dos Santos and Savimbi at the end of a conference in Zaire at Gbadolite in June, 1989. After the conference both parties discovered they had been deceived by Mobutu, who was accused of giving each side a different version of the pact agreed to. During 1990 relations between the Angola and Zaire deteriorated. In September, 1990, Angola gave permission for the anti-Mobutu *Front National de Libération du Congo* (FNLC) to hold a congress in Luanda. Allowing the group, which was responsible for the 1977 invasion of Zaire's rich Shaba province, to hold its congress in Luanda was seen as a warning to Mobutu that Angola was growing impatient with his support for UNITA.

ZAIRE. River and province. The Zaire or Congo River forms part of the northern border of Angola. It is the Atlantic outlet for a massive Central African river system, but is only navigable about 85 miles inland before it is interrupted by a series of cataracts and falls.

In the 19th century the Zaire became an important international commercial highway. Control over the resources of the Zaire basin became one of the major themes of the European quest for African territories. The international agreements--adopted at the Berlin Conference in 1885 and subsequent European protocols--stipulated that the Zaire basin should be a free trade zone. This meant that an expanding Angola could not exclude foreign traders or missionaries from northern Angola in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Angolan province bordering the river is also called Zaire, and is home to kiKongo-speaking peoples.

ZAMBEZI RIVER. The sources of this major eastward-flowing river system are in eastern Angola. It, along with its affluents the Lwena and Lwangwinga, provides conditions for agriculture in a region otherwise suitable only for grazing. However, the sandy soils and generally arid climate of the area have limited population growth and economic development there.

ZAMBIA. Zambia shares a 400-mile border with Angola and has several economic and diplomatic interests in common with its western neighbor. A fellow member of SADCC, landlocked Zambia is a major copper producer with a strong economic interest in the Benguela Railway. Zambia is also a Frontline State and has, like Angola, harbored ANC operatives from South Africa.

During the initial struggle for control in independent Angola, Zambia supported FNLA and UNITA. After MPLA's apparent victory and a March, 1976 meeting between Angolan Foreign Minister Eduardo dos Santos and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia recognized the MPLA government on April 16, 1976. By the end of that year all UNITA and FNLA forces had been officially expelled from Zambian soil. Since 1976 relations between Angola and Zambia have become close, with increasing economic cooperation between the two nations. Both nations have played active roles within SADCC and other forums to reduce southern African economic dependence on South Africa.

The guerilla war waged by UNITA sent 90,000 refugees into Zambia, which established two camps for them: Mayukwayuka in the Western Province and Maheba in North West Province. The war

also has consistently foiled efforts to reopen the Benguela Railway.

ZOMBO. Kongo from the old Kongo Kingdom province of Mbata. Located northeast of Mbanza Kongo astride the main route to Malebo Pool, the people of Mbata forged a distinct identity through their success as traders. From the late-17th-century political crises of the kingdom right through the late-19th-century rubber boom, the Zombo exploited their strategic position to prosper as middlemen and caravaneers.

In modern colonial and national times, the Zombo have continued to maintain a distinctive identity, often linking themselves with other Zombo living in nearby Zaire. In 1956 the Zombo emigré community in Kinshasa (Leopoldville) founded a mutual-aid society with nationalist overtones. When they were rebuffed as a merger partner by the Kongo UPA, they decided to compete and turned themselves into the political movement known as ALIAZO (Alliance des Ressortissants de Zombo) in 1959. In 1961 the name was changed to Partido Democrático de Angola (PDA), and in 1962 it joined with the UPA in the united front, GRAE. See also GRAE; MODERN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Introduction to Angolan Studies.

Since the outbreak of armed liberation struggle in Angola in February, 1961, journalists and scholars worldwide have focused increasing attention on Angola. A substantial proportion of these works were written in or have been translated into English. In addition there has been a large body of reports, position papers, and partisan publicity relating to Angola generated by interested movements, governments and international bodies. Most of this work, including scholarly studies, has dealt with politics in some form. Historical scholarship, though of much lesser volume, has also enjoyed a boom. As well, studies and translations of Angolan literature in English have appeared in greater numbers in the last decade.

Despite improvements, it is still the case that Angola is often underrepresented in English-language works, even those which aim to cover the whole African continent. This is partly because other parts of the continent, particularly those in the Anglophone sphere, have simply received more attention from English-speaking investigators over a longer time. However, an English residue of disdain for things Portuguese contributes to the problem as well.

Despite this increase in English-language studies, a good working knowledge of Portuguese remains essential for any serious study of the country. This is definitely the case once the researcher goes beyond secondary sources. Only a small percentage of primary documents, even of very recent vintage, are available in translation. These have been mostly confined to publication of official positions of either the MPLA or UNITA.

Since the African Historical Dictionaries are primarily intended for English-speakers, works in English, even those of less

importance, are given emphasis in this bibliography. Only major works in Portuguese and other western European languages are cited. History and politics are most fully covered, with lesser attention given to other disciplines. Monographs and articles published in English in the last 15 years are emphasized. Older studies are well surveyed in the first edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Angola*, by Phyllis Martin. However, important older studies have been included, along with published primary sources, whatever their publication date.

This bibliography follows the topical and chronological organization adopted in the general introduction, chronology, and entries sections of this *Dictionary*. Additional sections cover documentary and reference sources, and modern comparative and internationally oriented works. In both the Atlantic era (colonial) and national history (RPA) categories works have been further subdivided by type into either contemporary accounts (i.e., descriptive, documentary, or partisan works), or studies (usually scholarly, secondary works).

General Reference and Documentation

The last decade has seen a virtual revolution in the way information is collected, stored and accessed, with the advent of extensive computerization of catalogues; the establishment of both academic and commercial indexing and information networks; and the increased availability of entire bodies of material on CD-ROM. So far this is most useful in generating bibliographies and in retrieving information found in newspapers, general circulation journals, and other current publications--in English. The information revolution will be much slower in reaching into very specialized, foreign-language, older and manuscript materials. In fact, much of the archival material pertinent to Angola is not only in Portuguese and unpublished, but either isn't catalogued, or keeps getting re-catalogued, to the confusion of just about everyone.

International interest in Angolan affairs means that newspapers with extensive foreign coverage, such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor* and *Wall Street Journal*, are good sources of information on current affairs and recent history, and are electronically indexed. All of the above papers and several more are indexed in data bases found on the DIALOG Information Retrieval Service, a major commercial

provider. For Angolan affairs the two most valuable on-line data bases available through DIALOG are UMI/Data Courier, Inc.'s *Courier Plus*, which also provides a 30-word abstract of articles, and Information Access Company's *National Newspaper Index*. UMI, which provides microfilm copies of newspapers, also prints bound newspaper indexes and a CD-ROM version of its newspaper index under the trade name *ProQuest*. The *New York Times* also prints a bound index and allows Mead Data's *Nexus* system to market a full-text, on-line version of the paper. In addition to on-line services current newspapers and magazines are available on the CD-ROM indexes, such as InfoTrac and Newsbank Electronic Index. InfoTrac, updated monthly, surveys magazines, major newspapers, and some government sources. Newsbank, updated quarterly, includes newspapers from 500 U.S. cities.

Two major networks link libraries around the country: OCLC, Inc., and RLIN. OCLC links about 2,000 libraries, academic and private, but has only limited subject search through its EPIC service. RLIN, a network linking 27 major research libraries, provides subject searching as a part of its regular service. Both of these are card-catalogue-type data bases and, although RLIN includes archival collections, neither indexes journal articles. Many university on-line catalogues can be accessed directly through INTERNET, a network which links academic and government scientific communities.

In order to get comprehensive coverage of Angolan materials, it is necessary to turn to old-fashioned, hard-copy indexes and bibliographies. There are none which specialize just in Angola. However, there are a number which specialize in Africa. The most comprehensive of these are *International African Bibliography* and *Africana Index*, which together catalogue several thousand articles, books, and papers published worldwide, by both topic and region. Another work, *A Current African Bibliography on African Affairs*, provides annotations for entries and review articles, albeit from a much more select list of serials. Discipline-oriented indexes, such as *Historical Abstracts*, also include major Africanist journals. For harder-to-get materials, the researcher can turn to The Cooperative African Microform Project (CAMP) of the Research Libraries Group. However, your library must join (and only libraries can) in order to receive materials from CAMP.

The best critical source for keeping abreast of current scholarly materials remains the book review sections of leading

journals in each field. *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, published in Lisbon but available in North America, has a recent bibliography section which offers very good coverage of Angolan Africanist scholarship.

Besides Africa, the other major access point for materials on Angola is through Portuguese or Lusophone world indexes, catalogues, and journals. These are particularly important for literary and cultural materials. The most comprehensive bibliographic survey of literature is Manuel Ferreira and Gerald Moser, *Bibliografia das Literaturas Africanas de Expressão Portuguesa*, which features introductory essays printed in both English and Portuguese. Two centers in the U.S., The Conference Group on Modern Portugal at the University of New Hampshire, and the Camões Center at Columbia University, have libraries, sponsor conferences, and publish newsletters which include materials about Angola. There is also one Portuguese-oriented center in Anglophone Africa, the Lusophone Area Studies Association at the University of Ife, which publishes an annual journal.

The best of the widely available general reference sources on modern Angolan politics and economy in English is the annual *Africa South of the Sahara*. *Angola, A Country Study*, published in 1978, makes a good complementary introduction since it offers a still-useful coverage of social and cultural areas omitted by the updated annual.

History

The last decade has seen the appearance of two very important multivolume works covering the sweep of African history for the whole continent: the eight-volume *Cambridge History of Africa*, and the UNESCO *General History of Africa*, of which only six of eight volumes so far have appeared. This latter is being made available in both fully annotated and paperback abridged versions. For Angolan history, the two-volume *History of Central Africa*, with articles on Angola by Joseph Miller, Gervase Clarence-Smith, and Phyllis Martin, provides a very readable synthesis of recent historical research.

Angolan history continues to be somewhat marginal in English-language scholarly African history journals. The *Journal of African History* has published a steady stream of articles, and *History in Africa* has featured several articles relating to archives and

historiography. Most, however, publish only occasional articles on the country.

Angolan history has received the most attention from scholars interested in the Atlantic slave trade. The lively ongoing arguments between scholars about the dimensions, nature and impact of the Atlantic slave trade on Africa all have relevance for Angola, historically a major supplier of slave labor to the New World. New standards for research on the Angolan slave trade have been set by Joseph Miller's massive *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830*. Gervase Clarence-Smith's *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975*, also influential, is complementary. Together they provide an excellent look at the economics of empire in Angola, while clearly setting the development of colonial Angola in its international capitalist historical context.

Two monographs on early Kongo history, that by Anne Hilton and John Thornton, make a substantial contribution to the historiography of one of the many nations that separately have contributed to the rich heritage of modern Angola. Another specialist in early Angola, Beatrix Heintze, has given us a model for manuscript publication with her two volumes of the papers of 17th-century governor Fernao de Sousa. A recent dissertation by Linda Heywood, "Production, Trade and Power: The Political Economy of Central Angola, 1850-1930," along with articles by Heywood, Clarence-Smith, and Jill Dias, has opened up discussion of the role of nonstate nations in the life of modern multinational African countries such as Angola, as well as contributed to the Africanist discourse on class formation and economic history generally. For the history of Angolan liberation movements and wars up to independence, John Marcum's two-volume study, *The Angolan Revolution*, remains definitive, especially when read with Basil Davidson's firsthand accounts of the liberation wars, such as those in *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People*.

While most research on Angolan history takes scholars to archives abroad, there are resources for such research on this side of the Atlantic. An excellent comprehensive source for locating primary resources in the United States is *African Studies Information Resources Directory*, compiled and edited by Jean E. Meeh Gosebrink (1986).

An underexploited North American source is missionary materials, which contain substantial documentation and secondary

reflection on Angolan societies since the Portuguese contact in the 15th century. Primary sources consist of correspondence and reports of missionaries; secular clergy; papal, Portuguese, and African (largely Kongo) emissaries of various sorts; and colonial officials. Secondary sources cluster into secular academic studies on the one hand, and religious reports and overviews on the other. Locations and sources of primary materials include the archives of various missionary-sending agencies and published collections of documents, such as *Missiones Catholicae* and António Brásio's *Monumenta Missionária Africana*. Protestant sources in Canada were surveyed by K. V. Ram in *History in Africa* (1980), while those of Catholic orders were surveyed by David Henige, also in 1980.

General mission histories, both Catholic and Protestant, provide historical surveys of specific missions and mission fields. A great deal of highly specific information may be gleaned from the world of religious scholarly and "trade" journals, and from denominational news, features, and opinion magazines. Although some 25 religious periodicals of these various types were known to be published in Angola at independence, their availability outside of the Lusophone world is restricted. Essential indexes for getting at some of the European-language materials would include *Religion Index: One* for periodicals, *Religion Index: Two* for multiauthor works and festschrifts, and, most comprehensively, *Elenchus Bibliographicus*. Statistics are always questionable in this field, but David Barrett's *World Christian Encyclopaedia* is the most reliable general source.

Contemporary Angola

The best sources for recent Angolan politics, history, society and culture are the various Africanist journals. The most valuable source for the recent political and economic history of any African country is the *African Contemporary Record*, edited by Colin Legum. An annual publication of African Publishing Company since 1970, the *ACR* contains a wealth of detailed information about governmental structures and personnel, political developments and economic conditions and trends.

Another valuable source is *Africa Confidential*, a British weekly newsletter that tries to provide detailed, up-to-date political and economic reports to businessmen and policy makers. Because of the immediate nature of newsletters, *Africa Confidential* sometimes

goes to press with stories that later prove false, but its apparent access to top Angolan officials makes it extremely valuable for reconstructing political events. Its business stories are top-notch. Another British source for economic and political reports on Angola is the *Quarterly Economic Review of Angola, São Tomé & Príncipe*, published by the Economist Intelligence Unit.

The most important widely circulated U.S. periodicals for general information include *Africa News* (1973-present) and *Africa Report* (1973-present). *Africa News*, indexed in the *Alternative Press Index*, is a particularly strong source for U.S. foreign policy in Angola. *Africa Report*, indexed in *Social Science Index* and *Courier Plus*, is known for its frequent interviews with African policy makers and its coverage of development issues.

The strategic importance of Angola in a Cold War context has meant that it has been regularly covered in foreign affairs, foreign policy, and international relations journals for at least the last 20 years. Both John Marcum and Gerald Bender have contributed significantly to this discourse, bringing to it their scholarly appreciation of context and complexity.

Much ink has also been spilled in partisan publications aimed at garnering international support for either the MPLA-led government or the opposition UNITA party. Both have retained public relations firms in the U.S. and publish newsletters in English, including the Free Angola Information Service's (UNITA) *Kwacha News* and occasional news sheets; the Angolan government's U.S. publication *Angola Update*; and the Press Release series from the Angolan UN mission in New York. The Angolan news agency ANGOP also publishes the *ANGOP News Bulletin* out of its London office.

The Angolan government, either directly or through recognized organizations, publishes several periodicals for domestic consumption which are available in the U.S. in a few locations, such as the library at Northwestern University. These include the national circulation daily newspaper, the *Journal de Angola*; *Novembro*, a news monthly; and *Lavra e Oficina*, the literary magazine published by the Union of Angolan Writers. Two periodicals published in Lisbon are somewhat more available in this country. They are *Angolê*, a cultural magazine published by the Angolan Embassy there, and *Africa Hoje*, a monthly news magazine, which, while it covers all of Africa, devotes probably 75 percent of its coverage to Lusophone African countries.

Comparative and International Perspectives

Angola has received quite a lot of attention as part of the general interest of the international media and the scholarly and policy-making communities in southern Africa, particularly in South Africa and its former dependency, Namibia. There also has been much written about Angola in the context of international socialism, the Cold War, and global economic development. The last section of the bibliography gathers this diverse group of materials into one place. They mainly share a contemporary emphasis and a principal view of Angola from either an abstract comparative or foreign perspective.

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APPENDIX: COLONIAL AND MODERN NAMES

PROVINCES

COLONIAL NAME	MODERN NAME
Benguela	Benguela
Bié	Bié
Cabinda	Cabinda
Cuando-Cubango	Kwando-Kubango
Cuanza Norte	Kwanza North
Cuanza Sul	Kwanza South
Cunene	Kunene
Huambo	Huambo
Huíla	Huíla
Luanda	Luanda
	Bengo
Lunda	Lunda North
	Lunda South
Malange	Malanje
Moçâmedes	Namibe
Uíge	Uíge
Zaire	Zaire

PROVINCIAL CAPITALS

COLONIAL NAME	MODERN NAME
Benguela	Benguela
Silva Porto	Kwito
Cabinda	Cabinda
Serpa Pinto	Menongue
Salazar	Ndalatando
Novo Redondo	Sumbe
Pereira de Eça	Ondjiva
Nova Lisboa	Huambo
Sa da Bandeira	Lubango
Luanda	Luanda
Caxito	Caxito
Carvalho	Lucapa
Sarmento	Saurimo
Malange	Malanje
Moçâmedes	Namibe
Carmona	Uige
São Salvador	Mbanza Kongo

